GREAT REVIVALS
AND
THE GREAT REPUBLIC

WARREN A. CANDLER

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GREAT REVIVALS

AND THE

GREAT REPUBLIC

BY WARREN A. CANDLER, ~~D.D., LL.D.~~

Scarcely can a more memorable exhibition of God be found than that presented by a revival of religion. Historians seldom take note of so obscure an event; yet if the secret connections of revivals with the destiny of nations could be disclosed, they would appear to be more critical evolutions of history than the Gothic invasions. A volume has been compiled narrating the decisive battles of the world. But more significant than this, and probing deeper the divine government of the world, would be the history of revivals.—*Austin Phelps.*

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PREFACE.

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PREFACE.

This volume is a study of American history from a standpoint which has been generally overlooked by writers upon both the secular and the religious history of the United States.

It has been prepared with a view of doing good to both Church and State by the promotion of a pious patriotism and the stimulation of a patriotic piety. In its pages, it is hoped, will be found disclosed such a connection between the religious history and the civil development of the "Great Republic" as will inspire the patriot with fresh devotion and move the Christian to renewed zeal. It is especially desired that men of all classes and of all shades of opinion may be led to a just appreciation of that evangelical and evangelistic type of Christianity which must be the security of our institutions for the years to come, as it has been their inspiration and preservation in the days that are gone. It is believed that a careful and unprejudiced consideration of the facts presented will lead to the conclusion that a revivalistic religion—the prevalent form of Christianity in American Churches—is at once the salvation of our own country and the hope of other lands.

The authorities relied on to establish the statements and confirm the inferences of the book are sufficiently acknowledged in the current of the discussion, but with a view to commending the restudy of certain valuable works —some of which, strangely enough, have been permitted to drop out of print—the author makes mention of his special indebtedness in the preparation of this volume to "Religion in America," by Robert Baird; Tracy's "History of the Great Awakening;" Jonathan Edwards's "On Revivals;" Luke Tyerman's Biographies of Whitefield and Wesley; "A Handbook of Revivals," by Henry C. Fish, D.D.; "History of American Christianity," by Leonard Woolsey Bacon; "Christian Leaders of the Last Century," by the Bishop of Liverpool; "Wesley and Methodism," by Isaac Taylor; "Christianity and the Nation," by Bishop Charles B. Galloway; "The Great Revival of 1800," by William Speer, D.D.; "Christ in the Camp," by Rev. J. William Jones, D.D.; and the "Wesley Memorial Volume," by J. O. A. Clark, LL.D. Nothing outside the study of the Bible itself could contribute more directly to the promotion of a national revival than a general and prayerful perusal of these highly interesting and exceedingly stimulating treatises.

I.

RELIGION AND NATIONAL LIFE.

To my mind the great epochs in the world's history are marked not by the foundation or the destruction of empires, by the migration of races, or by French revolutions. . . . The real history of man is the history of religion. . . . This is the foundation that underlies all profane history; it is the light, the soul and life of history; without it all history would be profane.—*Max Müller.*

From history we learn that the great function of religion has been the founding and sustaining of States. —*Prof. Seeley.*

Never was a State founded that did not have religion as its basis.—*Rousseau.*

We know that religion is the basis of civil society and the fruitful source of all blessing and comfort in human intercourse.—*Edmund Burke.*

All political and social questions refer for their ultimate solution to the religious principle.—*Guizot.*

I.

RELIGION AND NATIONAL LIFE.

THE forms and forces of national life take their rise in the religion of the people.

National life is feeble or strong according as the faith of the people is faint or vigorous. The fruitful periods of a nation's history are those during which religion is flourishing, and periods of religious declension are marked by the withering of all social and political vitality. Literature and art have no such vital relation to political institutions. They may flourish without invigorating national life and fail without enfeebling it. They have often attained to their highest development during periods of national decay, and some of their finest forms have sprung up amid political ruins. But such is not the case with religion. When it withers the State wanes. When faith begins to perish, all things else begin to die, as if the dew of heaven had been denied, or the former and the latter rain had been withheld.

This was manifest in the history of ancient

Israel, and not less so in the history of the Grecian and Roman commonwealths. The book of Judges in the Old Testament is a record of backsliding and bondage, and of revivals and restored prosperity. The annals of Greece and Rome equally reveal the connection between a loss of faith and a loss of power. Declension in religion was followed by declension in morality, and that, in turn, by the enfeebling of national life and the loss of political freedom.

The history of modern France emphasizes the lesson taught by the records of the world's earlier governments. French governments have lacked steadiness and stability because they were not rooted in the depths of religion, from which spring the conservative and inspiring powers of national life. Lamartine lamented this fact in the history of his people. He says: "I know, and I sigh when I think of it, that hitherto the French people have been the least religious of all the nations of Europe. . . . The republic of these men without a God was quickly stranded. The liberty, won by so much heroism and so much genius, did not find in France a conscience to shelter it, a God to avenge it, a people to defend it, against that atheism which was called glory."

The founders of the American republic, which has remained stable in spite of many shocks, established it in a nobler spirit, and erected it upon a more enduring basis. They recognized the vital connection of national strength and religious life, and cherished faith as the formative force of the nation.

At the outset of the War of Independence, Congress, by formal action, expressed its desire "to have the people of all ranks and degrees duly impressed with a solemn sense of God's superintending providence, and of their duty to rely in all their lawful enterprises on his aid and direction." Accordingly, a general fast was proclaimed, that the people might, "with united hearts, confess and bewail their manifold sins and transgressions, and by a sincere repentance and amendment of life appease God's righteous displeasure, and through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ obtain his pardon and forgiveness."

In the midst of the war General Washington issued an order commanding a proper observance of the Sabbath by the army, and throughout his illustrious career he gave the force of both his precept and example to the maintenance of Christian faith.

In the Convention, assembled after the war to frame the Federal Constitution, Benjamin Franklin, then above eighty years of age, offered a motion for daily prayers in the body, and, in support of the proposition, said: "In the beginning of the contest with Great Britain, when we were sensible of danger, we had daily prayer in this room for divine protection. Our prayers, sir, were heard, and they were graciously answered. All of us who were engaged in the struggle must have observed the frequent instances of a superintending Providence in our favor. To that kind Providence we owe this happy opportunity of consulting in peace on the means of establishing our future national felicity. And have we now forgotten this powerful Friend? Or do we imagine that we no longer need his assistance? I have lived, sir, a long time, and the longer I live the more convincing proofs I see of this truth that God governs in the affairs of men. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, is it possible that an empire can rise without his aid? We have been assured, sir, in the sacred writings, that 'except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it.' I firmly believe this; and I also believe that without his

concurring aid we shall succeed, in this political building, no better than the builders of Babel." These were remarkable words, coming from a man of liberalistic opinions. They point to a prevalence of religious sentiment which reached and affected the astutest among the rationalists even. Men who were descendants of the first colonists could not rid themselves of the convictions which had driven their ancestors to the New World, nor utterly renounce the faith from which their colonial institutions had sprung. They knew, as their forefathers had believed and taught, that commonwealths not founded in religion rest precariously on shifting sands.

It must be so. The deepest and most influential thing in the life of any people is its religion, and its customs and codes must inevitably be colored and controlled by its moral convictions. Atheism breeds anarchy as like begets like, and in all the gradations of civil government, from the lowest absolutism to the highest types of free institutions, the character of the political system is exactly determined by the faith that underlies it.

The governments of all heathen lands are despotisms by the very law of their being.

Civil freedom cannot live in an atmosphere of pagan superstition. Nations that forget God do thereby forge chains for their own hands.

And in the nominally Christian lands it will be found that the power of political institutions is in direct proportion to the purity of the Christianity with which they coexist. According to the different degrees of religious intelligence in the nations of Christendom will be found the elevation or degradation of their political systems. Romanism has made South America and Southern Europe what they are, and Protestantism has made England, Germany, Holland, and North America what they are. As Romanism wanes in Italy, freedom waxes stronger; but when a chill falls upon the Protestant Churches of the United States, the moral vigor of the nation is impaired.

From the widest observation of the political systems of mankind, in all lands and in all times, we derive, therefore, the generalization that national life roots itself in religious conditions, and that it is feeble or powerful according to the religion from which it springs. Religion makes and molds States; irreligion mars them. With governments, as with individuals, godliness with contentment is great gain.

II.

A NATION FOUNDED BY FAITH.

Religion gave birth to Anglo-American society.—*M. de Tocqueville.*

They were driven forth from their fatherland, not by earthly want or by the greed of gold or by the lust of adventure, but by the fear of God and the zeal for a Godly worship.—*From Green's "Short History of the English People."*

It concerneth New England always to remember that she is a religious plantation and not a plantation of trade. The profession of purity of doctrine, worship, and discipline is written upon her forehead.—*From Prince's "Christian History."*

A work which may, by the Providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the glory of His Divine Majesty in the propagating of the Christian religion to such people as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God.—*One of the reasons assigned for the grant in the first charter of the Colony of Virginia.*

It is remarkable that in every charter granted to the Southern Colonies the "propagation of the gospel" is mentioned as one of the reasons for undertaking the planting of them.—*From Baird's "Religion in America."*

II.

A NATION FOUNDED BY FAITH.

"THE great migrations of mankind," says Goldwin Smith, "are the great epochs of history." To the same purpose speaks Whipple, affirming that "there was never a great migration which did not give rise to a new form of national life." These observations are abundantly confirmed by the history of that migration which has resulted in the American Republic. It gave rise to a unique form of national life, in exact conformity to its own moral character.

This migration, the greatest in the history of mankind, was not begun under the obscuring mists of a remote past; it began in the open, before the eyes of the nations of modern times, and it is not clouded by the uncertain myths and doubtful traditions of a prehistoric period. We know with absolute certainty its origin and the course it has run. We may analyze with accuracy the forces which gave rise to it and mark with precision the flow of its current. And it is beyond question that religion was the prime

and moving cause that gave rise to the migration which, beginning with the Jamestown and Plymouth settlements and continuing to the present time, has created the republican nation known as the United States. The call of Abraham and his departure from Chaldea, and the exodus from Egypt, while attended by more miraculous circumstances, were no more truly religious events than the founding of the American colonies. The coming of the colonists was a movement from religious impulses as devout and far more intelligent than the inspiration which produced the Crusades, and it can scarcely be doubted that the religious results which have followed their coming will affect the destiny of mankind during the centuries to come, when the influence of the Crusaders will be an utterly spent force.

The colonists did not go to make a republic, nor did they come with any preconceived plans of political government. Following God, they founded States almost unconsciously and builded more wisely than they knew. In his noble address entitled "The Founders Great in Their Unconsciousness" Horace Bushnell has stated the case of all in describing that of the New England colonists. "Their end," he says, "was re-

ligion, simply and only religion. Out upon the lone ocean, feeling their way cautiously, as it were, through the unknown waves, exploring in their busy fancies and their prayers the equally unknown future before them, they as little conceived that they had in their ship the germ of a vast republic that in two centuries would command the respect and attract the longing desires of the nations, as that they saw with their eyes the lonely wastes about them whitening with the sails and foaming under the swift ships of that republic already become the first commercial power of the world. . . . No! they crossed the sea in God's name only, sent by Him, as they believed, to be the voice of one crying in the wilderness, 'Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.' But whither those straightened paths will lead and in what shape the new kingdom of the Lord will come, they as little conceive as John the Baptist himself."

It is impossible to form an adequate conception of this far-reaching movement to the shores of North America if the providential purpose of God or the pious submission of the colonists to the divine direction be left out of the account. Emerson is not extravagant when he declares: "Our whole history appears like a last effort

of Divine Providence in behalf of the human race." In the colonization out of which came the Great Republic, Providence selected the best stocks of the Old World for the purpose of the divine kingdom in the New World. By persecutions and trials of faith, a process of election was operated, whereby a chosen seed was secured for a land prepared and reserved to be the home of a type of evangelical religion such as had not been in the earth for centuries.

With what precision that process worked to its end is seen in the character of the emigrants who constituted at the first the primal germ of the nascent nation, whose aftergrowth has been conformed to the original type which they gave to it. After a careful analysis of their colonial charters, customs, and laws, Dr. Robert Baird, in his monumental work entitled "Religion in America," thus summarizes their case:

"1. They were not composed of the rich, the voluptuous, the idle, the effeminate, and the profligate; neither were they, generally speaking, composed of poor, spiritless, dependent, and helpless persons. They rather came from that middle class of society, which is placed in the happy medium between sordid poverty and overgrown wealth. They knew that whatever com-

fort or enjoyment they could look for in the New World was only to be attained by the blessing of God upon their industry, frugality, and temperance.

"2. They were not an ignorant rabble, such as many ancient and some modern States have been obliged to expel from their borders. Taken in the mass, they were well-informed—many of them remarkably so for the age in which they lived and which in the case of none of them was an age of darkness. . . . With few exceptions, they had acquired the elements of a good education. There were few persons in any of the colonies that could not read.

"3. They were a virtuous people; not a vicious herd, such as used to be sent out by ancient States and such as chiefly colonized South America and Mexico—men of unbridled passions and slaves to the basest lusts. The morality of the early colonists of the United States was unrivaled in any community of equal extent and has been lauded by almost all who have written about them, as well as by those who have governed them.

"4. They were religious men. They believed and felt that Christianity is no vain fancy—a fact that holds true even as respects those of

them with whom religious motives were not the chief motive for expatriating themselves. The overwhelming majority stood acquitted of the slightest approach to infidelity. Neither were they what are called 'philosophers,' attempting to propagate certain new theories respecting human society and suggesting new methods for rendering it perfect. By far the greater number of them were simple Christians, who knew of no way by which men can be good or happy but that pointed out by God in his Word.

"5. With few exceptions, the first colonists were Protestants; indeed, Lord Baltimore's was the only Roman Catholic colony, and even in it the Romanists formed but a small minority long before the Revolution of 1775. The great mass had sacrificed much—some their all—for the Protestant faith. They were Protestants in the sense of men who took the Bible for their guide and who believed what it taught, not what human authority put in its place. 'What saith the Lord?' This was what they desired to know first of all and above all. And it was the study of the Bible that opened their eyes to truths that bore upon every possible relation of life and upon every duty. And while they learned from the Bible what were their duties,

so they learned also what were their rights. This led them at once to practice the former and to demand the latter.

"6. The great majority of them had suffered much oppression and persecution, and in that severe but effectual school had learned lessons not to be acquired in any other. It had led them to question many things to which otherwise their thoughts might never have been directed, and it gave them irresistible power of argument in favor of the right of the human mind to freedom of thought. Indeed it is remarkable how large a proportion of the early colonists were driven from Europe by oppression. Although Virginia and the Carolinas were not expressly established as asylums for the wronged, yet during the commonwealth in England they afforded a refuge to the 'Cavalier' and the 'Churchman,' as they did afterwards to the Huguenot and the German Protestant. Georgia was colonized as an asylum for the imprisoned and 'persecuted Protestants;' Maryland as the home of persecuted Roman Catholics; and the colony of Gustavus Adolphus was to be a general blessing to the 'whole Protestant world,' by offering a shelter to all who stood in need of one. Even New York, though founded by Dutch merchants, with an eye to

trade alone, opened its arms to the persecuted Bohemian and to the inhabitants of the Italian valleys. So that, in fact, all of these colonies were originally peopled more or less, and some of them exclusively, by the victims of oppression and persecution; hence the remark of one of our historians (Bancroft) is no less just than eloquent, that 'tyranny and injustice peopled America with men nurtured in suffering and adversity. The history of our colonization is the history of the crimes of Europe.'

"7. Though incapable of emancipating themselves from all the prejudices and errors of past ages, with respect to the rights of conscience, they were at least in advance of the rest of the world on these points, and founded an empire in which religious liberty is at this day more fully enjoyed than anywhere else—in short, is in every respect perfect.

"8. Lastly, of the greater number of the early colonists it may be said that they expatriated themselves from the Old World, not merely to find liberty of conscience in the forests of the New, but that they might extend the kingdom of Christ by founding States where the Truth should not be impeded by the hindrances which opposed its progress elsewhere. This

was remarkably the case of the Puritans of New England; but a like spirit animated the pious men who settled in other parts of the country. They looked to futurity and caught glimpses of the glorious progress which the gospel was to make among their children and children's children. This comforted them in sorrow and sustained them under trials. They lived by faith, and their hope was not disappointed."

It is thus evident how the Great Republic, in the earliest stages of its history, was formed by religion and conformed to the Word of God. As no other of modern times, it is a nation founded by faith. As soon as the first settlers who came to the Western world had landed, public worship was commenced and Churches were organized. The place of religious service was from the first center of life in the colonies. Thither went the entire population every Sabbath, and in some of the colonies citizenship was conditioned on Church membership. They professed, as the controlling motive for their coming into the wilderness, "a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation (or at least to make some way thereunto) for propagating and advancing the gospel of the kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the

world." The corner stones of their civilization were liberty and law, education and religion. The laws of Moses were the models of their codes, and the doing of God's will was the aim of their endeavor. They sought to fashion their lives according to the pattern of the mount, and, working by faith, builded more wisely than they knew and attained to the greatness of

"Souls destined to o'erleap the vulgar lot
And mold the world unto the scheme of God."

III.

REVIVALS IN THE OLD WORLD GAVE RISE TO COLONIES IN THE NEW.

These men came out from amid great awakenings; and after the first plantations every arrival from the old country brought them news of the revivals which took place under the Bunyans and Baxters of England. —*Henry C. Fish, D.D.*

The period of the settlement of this country was singularly identical with that of the breaking up of the old religious life of Europe. Indeed, since the Crusades, the Old World had passed through no such convulsions as shook her whole religious, political, intellectual, and social framework at a time when every nation was sending forth her sons—albeit, many exiles in the number—to establish themselves on the Atlantic coast of this continent. It was not from any stagnant nations that immigrants came to our wooded shores, but from stirred and aroused peoples. . . . Europe's best blood was hot with aspirations—we might better call them inspirations—at the very moment when this new field was opened for the greatest fulfillment in modern history.—*Bishop John F. Hurst.*

When the colonies in America were planted, both from England and the Continent, the people who constituted them arrived at the moment of Europe's awakening. They brought the best aspirations of the Old World, and determined to realize them in the New. The hour of American colonization was the fittest one in all modern times for the New World to receive the best which the Old World had to give.—*Ibid.*

III.

REVIVALS IN THE OLD WORLD GAVE RISE TO COLONIES IN THE NEW.

Whence came these founders to the shores of North America?

With reference to their former residence, and speaking geographically, the most of them came from the British Isles—in the main, from England. So predominant were these English elements that as late as 1775 four-fifths of the people were of British origin and spoke the English language. In the earlier days the proportion of English to the whole population was even larger.

Having reference to their ecclesiastical antecedents and their religious position, they were cast on these shores by the expulsive forces of the Reformation and the religious convulsions in Europe consequent upon that mighty movement. Most of them were Protestants, and Protestants of the most evangelical type. In this fact was found the main cause of their coming to America.

The Reformation had set all Europe in a ferment. Before it began Christianity had been connected with the State in all European lands,

and the papal throne was higher than that of any secular prince or sovereign. The Pope assumed to confer crowns and to exercise lordship over kings. The supreme pontiff was a sort of king of kings as well as the head of the Church. Dissent from the dogmas of Romanism was a civil offense as well as an ecclesiastical sin. Heresy was a crime. A dreadful absolutism extended its rule over the human mind and soul, enforcing its decrees with the power of the civil arm. Against this ecclesiastical monarchy by which the spirits of men were enslaved, and to which crowned heads bowed, the Reformation was a revolt. In the very nature of things, such a movement was resisted by the hand of persecution. The Pope and his subservient allies were bound to join hands against it. Princes who derived influence from papal recognition took up arms to suppress it. The superstitious multitudes, who knew nothing of the faith that justifies, were aroused to fury against it by the appeals of priests whose craft and gains were endangered by it. The vicious opposed it because of its purity. Its adherents at first were found only among that class which is always in the minority—the men who are too intelligent to believe fables, too pure to in-

dulge vice, and too loyal to God to fear earthly usurpers of divine authority.

Such men can no more fail in a work of faith than they can escape the persecution of the faithless. Therefore, the movement speedily attained to the magnitude of a moral revolution. Into it at length were swept the masses and the classes. Some princes, even, who had long been restive under papal pretensions, availed themselves of the opportunity to rid themselves of a galling yoke. Political elements thus entered into what, in the beginning, was a revival of spiritual religion, and that alone. But the religious element was always dominant, and the heavenly fire within it increased the heat of the earthly flames which burned everywhere. It was an era of fierce controversies and not of tepid religious convictions. And it inaugurated an epoch during which evangelical faith steadily advanced in clearness of vision and purity of life through a succession of struggles and triumphs which may be justly called revivals. This was especially true in England and Scotland, where Ridley and Latimer and Cranmer and Knox wrought righteousness and subdued kingdoms, and where the Puritans and the Covenanters subsequently contended earnestly for the faith once delivered to

the saints. From these revival centers, and out of these fights of faith, driven by persecution and drawn by the hope of religious freedom, came the first colonists to America.

Grandsires of the men who composed the Jamestown settlement were contemporaries of the Protestant martyrs of the British Isles. The hearts of these settlers in the New World had been stirred by stories of the stormy times and the heroic deeds of their ancestors. Perhaps from eyewitnesses of those martyrdoms some of the first colonists had heard how, "without Bocardo Gate," opposite Baliol College, on a day in October, 1555, the dauntless and saintly Latimer had died, exclaiming to his companion in suffering and glory: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as, I trust, shall never be put out." From the lips of saintly sires mayhap others had heard the story of Rowland Taylor, the good Vicar of Hadleigh, who went to his death, by burning, amid the lamentations of his parishioners, who burst out crying: "Ah, good Lord, there goeth our shepherd from us! God save thee, good Dr. Taylor; God strengthen thee and help thee; the Holy Ghost comfort thee!"

The colonists themselves had suffered persecutions which, though less fierce, were not less persistent than the trials endured by their holy sires. They had been hindered by bitter opposition and helped by great revivals, as had their forefathers been hindered and helped. Particularly they had been affected by a revival, the influence of which is felt throughout the English-speaking world to the present moment. They had been inspired and enlightened by the great revival which the extraordinary reading of the Bible had produced in England during the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Of that period, Green, in his "Short History of the English People," says: "No greater moral change ever passed over a nation than passed over England during the years which parted the reign of Elizabeth from the meeting of the Long Parliament. England became the people of a book, and that book was the Bible. It was yet the one English book which was familiar to every Englishman; it was read at churches and read at home, and everywhere its words, as they fell on ears which custom had not deadened, kindled a startling enthusiasm. . . . The whole moral effect which is produced nowadays by the religious newspaper, the tract, the essay, the lecture, the

missionary report, the sermon, was then produced by the Bible alone; and its effect in this way, however dispassionately we may examine it, was simply amazing. One dominant influence told on human action; and all the activities that had been called into life by the age that was passing away were seized, concentrated, and steadied to a definite aim by the spirit of religion. The whole temper of the nation felt the change. A new conception of life and of man superseded the old. A new moral and religious impulse spread through every class."

With such memories, and from amid such events and influences, came the first colonists to Jamestown in 1607, and to Plymouth in 1620. In the years that followed they drew after them men of like mind and mold. From the moment of their establishment in the New World the eyes of the pious and persecuted Protestants in every part of Northern Europe, and especially the eyes of their kindred fellow-Christians in England, were fixed upon them. Drawn by the bonds of a common faith and natural affection, multitudes of congenial spirits soon hastened to join them in their Western home. Besides their friends and kinsmen from England, there flocked after them Huguenots

from France, pious Swedes, saintly Swiss, and devout Dutch, together with sturdy Scotch and ardent spirits from the north of Ireland. The colonies which were the offspring of evangelical religion were thereby strengthened and replenished with a like precious faith.

It thus appears that the founding of the colonies at the first, and their subsequent growth during the first century of their existence, were the results of great revivals of religion. As has been intimated, the Reformation itself was, strictly speaking, a revival, and gave rise to a series of movements from which have been developed the evangelical type of life and the evangelistic methods of propagating Christianity which are to-day the hope of the world. It is a great mistake to consider that mighty revolution to have been only a change of speculative tenets, or a secular struggle, under the pretense of religion, for freedom of thought only. True, purification of doctrine and liberty of conscience were involved, but only because of the deep spiritual struggle which underlay them. It was the personal and intense struggle of souls, hungering and thirsting after righteousness, which, at the outset, raised the great issues between the Romanists and the Re-

formers. Not since the days of the apostles were so many souls anxiously inquiring, "What must we do to be saved?" and never before were there so many genuine conversions. The correspondence of the Reformers, especially that of Luther and Calvin, shows that much of their time was spent giving counsel to inquiring souls and leading such souls to Christ. The subjects uppermost in their discussions were just those themes which to this day are considered of paramount importance in a revival season.

The Reformation in Scotland bore the same marks. Kirkton says of it: "The whole nation was converted by lump. Lo! here a nation born in one day; yea, molded into one congregation, and sealed as a fountain with a solemn oath and covenant." Fleming, in his "Fulfilling of Scripture," says: "It is astonishing, and should be matter of wonder and praise for after ages, to consider that solemn time of the Reformation (in Scotland) when the Lord began to visit his Church. What a swift course the spreading of the kingdom of Christ had; and how professors of the truth thronged in amidst the greatest threatenings of those on whose side authority and power then was!" In Holland, France, and Switzerland a similar spirit pre-

vailed among the reformers. We may be sure that it was not for mere speculative dogmas, or for motives of faction, that men endured torture and gave themselves to death. Nothing less than the personal experience of that "loving-kindness of God" which "is better than life" could have nerved them for the mighty struggles through which they passed on behalf of the freedom of the faith. If dogma was dear to them, it was because it was the symbol of loyalty to the Lord of life and salvation.

In the British Isles, whence most of the early colonists came, the contest between evangelical Christianity and its enemies was longest and fiercest. There, also, were the triumphs of a pure faith most signal and fruitful. In the century in which the first colonies were founded there were many revival centers from which the ranks of the colonists were constantly recruited. Such men as Richard Baxter, John Owen, John Bunyan, John Howe, and John Flavel called sinners to repentance and edified the Churches of England in ministries of great power. Their writings, which remain, reveal how evangelical were their teachings, how fervent was their spirit, and how abundant were their labors. The various acts of Parliament leveled against such

pious endeavors show how bitterly they were opposed, and those statutes reveal also how great was the influence of those flaming evangelists and their followers. The Act of Uniformity, passed in 1662 and strenuously enforced for twenty-five years, the Conventicle Act, passed in 1664, and the Five Mile Act, passed in 1665, all show how persistent and how ineffectual was the persecution of those mighty men who stood for a pure faith in a corrupt age. This proscriptive legislation did also send to the American colonies some of the choicest spirits that the world ever saw. They had been fused and fashioned in revival fires, and they came to the New World in the spirit of the evangelism by which they had been encompassed from birth, and for which they and their fathers had suffered so much.

Of how nearly the revivals of this period of British history resemble the revivals of our day we may judge by reading the accounts of a revival which prevailed in the north of Ireland in 1625. It was from the labors of a company of faithful men who went over from Scotland—Brice, Glendenning, Ridge, Blair, and others. They began in Ulster, and endeavored with apostolic zeal to evangelize the whole island. The work continued for a considerable time, and of

it Stewart says: "The ministers were indefatigable in improving the favorable opportunity thus offered for extending the knowledge and influence of the gospel. The people, awakened and inquiring, many of them both desponding and alarmed, both desired and needed guidance and instruction. The judicious exhibition of evangelical doctrines and promises by these faithful men was in due time productive of those happy and tranquilizing effects which were early predicted as the characteristic of gospel times. Adopting the beautiful imagery of the prophets, the broken-hearted were bound up and comforted, the spirit of bondage and of fear gave way to a spirit of freedom and of love, the oil of joy was poured forth instead of mourning, and the spirit of heaviness exchanged for the garments of praise and thankfulness."

In the same year there was in Scotland a great work of grace which, from the place of its beginning—Stewarton—was named by the godless as the "Stewarton Sickness." Of this movement Fleming says: "Truly this great springtide, as I may call it, of the gospel was not of a short time, but of some years' continuance; yea, thus, like a spreading moor-burn, the power of godliness did advance from one place to another,

which put a marvelous luster on those parts of the country, the savor whereof brought many from other parts of the land to see its truth."

Of the same sort was Baxter's work at Kidderminster. He himself gives us a glimpse of it in these words: "The congregation was usually full, so that we were led to build five galleries after my coming hither, the church itself being very capacious—the most commodious and convenient that ever I was in. Our private meetings were also full. On the Lord's day there was no disorder to be seen in the streets, but you might hear a hundred families singing psalms and repeating sermons as you passed through the streets." Of the extent of his influence we may draw some inference from the fact that in a time when the population of England was not nearly so dense as now, nor reading nearly so general, his great work entitled "A Call to the Unconverted" attained a circulation of twenty thousand copies within the first twelvemonth after its publication. What must have been the popular interest in the subject to secure so great and so speedy a circulation for a work of that kind! How powerfully must his call have affected the nation, and especially that class of the people who were migrating to America!

These facts all go to show how true is the statement that the first colonists, who gave to the rising commonwealths in the New World their initial type of life, which type has dominated and assimilated to itself all subsequent immigration, "came out of great awakenings."

The colonists were not unaccustomed to revivals when they came, nor were they startled when similar works of grace appeared among them in the New World. The "Venerable Stoddard," grandfather of Jonathan Edwards and the pastor of the Church at Northampton (where the great awakening of 1740 began) from 1672 to 1729, had, during the nearly sixty years of his ministry, five sweeping revivals in his parish. In his "Narrative of the Surprising Work of God," Jonathan Edwards thus alludes to these seasons of grace in the ministry of his grandfather: "As he was eminent and renowned for his gifts and graces, so he was blessed from the beginning with extraordinary success in his ministry in the conversion of many souls. He had five harvests, as he called them: the first was about fifty-seven years ago, the second about fifty-three years, the third about forty, the fourth about twenty-four, and the fifth and last about eighteen years ago. Some of these times

were much more remarkable than others, and the ingathering of souls more plentiful. Those that were about fifty-three, forty, and twenty-four years ago were much greater than either the first or the last; but in each of them, I have heard my grandfather say, the greater part of the young people in the town seemed to be mainly concerned for their eternal salvation." Reckoning, therefore, from the date of the "Narrative" by Edwards, we find there were harvest times at Northampton in 1679, 1683, 1696, 1712, and 1718.

These revivals were not novelties to the colonists nor breaks in their religious history, but they were fruits of the religious awakenings in the Old World and forerunners of the great awakening which presently came to the New. They sprang up amid tender memories and holy ancestral traditions, and they renewed in the hearts of the colonists the fervent experiences of their forefathers. They are links in that apostolical succession of revivals which stretches from the Reformation to the great awakenings of the eighteenth century.

IV.

THE GREAT AWAKENING.

(41)

The work is very glorious if we consider the extent of it, being in this respect vastly beyond any former outpouring of the Spirit that ever was known in New England. There has formerly sometimes been a remarkable awakening and success of the means of grace in some particular congregation, and this used to be much taken notice of and acknowledged to be glorious, though the towns and congregations round about continued dead; but now God has brought to pass a new thing; he has wrought a great work of this nature, that has extended from one end of the land to the other, besides what has been wrought in other British Colonies in America.—*Jonathan Edwards.*

In the period before the awakening, the sole organ of fellowship reaching through the whole chain of the British Colonies was the correspondence of the Quaker meetings and missionaries. In the glow of the revival the continent awoke to the consciousness of a common spiritual life. Ranging the continent literally, from Georgia to Maine, with all his weaknesses and indiscretions, and with his incomparable eloquence, welcomed by every sect, yet refusing an exclusive allegiance to any, Whitefield exercised a true apostolate, bearing daily the care of all the Churches, and becoming a messenger of mutual fellowship, not only between the ends of the continent, but between the Christians of two hemispheres. Remote Churches exchanged offices of service. Tennent came from New Jersey to labor in New England; Dickinson and Burr and Edwards were the gift of the Northern Colonies to the college at Princeton. The quickened sense of a common religious life and duty and destiny was no small part of the preparation for the birth of the future nation.—*Leonard Woolsey Bacon, in "A History of American Christianity."*

IV.

THE GREAT AWAKENING.

Notwithstanding the revivals in the Old World out of which the first colonists had come to the New, notwithstanding the heroic and pious purposes which had inspired their coming, and notwithstanding the seasons of grace and the exercise of religion which they had enjoyed after their arrival, in the second and third generations following them was seen the most grievous moral and religious deterioration. Their fathers had fled to the wilderness to secure freedom of faith, but their descendants had turned liberty into license.

Migrations are periods of great peril to spiritual life. The transplanting of the best human stocks is attended with the greatest moral dangers. An emigrant people in a new and strange land are cut off from those vitalizing forces of life which issue from a well-established social system and which can be supplied from no other source. Restraints that are wholesome are thrown off and associations are contracted upon other than moral bases. Dire necessity is invoked to excuse misconduct, and friendships are estab-

lished in bonds of desperate need rather than in spiritual affinity. "All the old roots of local love and historic feeling, the joints and bands that minister nourishment, are left behind, and nothing remains to organize a living growth but the two unimportant incidents, proximity and a common interest."

Besides these perils, which inhere in all migrations, the American colonists were beset by difficulties peculiarly their own and arising from the unprecedented conditions with which they were surrounded. No colonists had ever before removed so far from their original seats or been so effectually separated from the lands that sent them forth. They had no central government to bind them together in anything akin to national unity, but, on the contrary, were divided into separate and jealous colonies of divers ecclesiastical orders until their religious convictions became, by reason of excessive intenseness, a peril to their souls. They reached a point at length where they would hate men for a dogma and sin for a sect. The French and Indian wars had fed all the fiercest passions of human nature within them and relaxed all moral convictions and restraints. Manners became coarse and mental cultivation was sadly neglected. A wild

and adventurous spirit possessed the people as morals declined and religion decayed. Secret apostasies and flagrant sins corrupted and enfeebled the Churches. Intemperance, profane swearing, licentiousness, and every form of vice prevailed as never before in their history. The first race was gone and its successors of the second and third generation were of a distinctly lower type. "We feel, in short, that we have descended to an inferior race. It is somewhat as if a nest of eagles had been filled with a brood of owls."

Such were the moral conditions on the eve of the great awakening. In seeking to make religious commonwealths, citizenship had been by the founders conditioned on Church membership, and, as is always and inevitably the result in such methods, citizenship had not been elevated to a nobler level, but Church membership had been degraded to the low plane of political expedient. Even the "Venerable Stoddard" had been corrupted in doctrine by the pressure of such a situation, and had published a sermon in which he maintained that "sanctification is not a necessary qualification to partaking of the Lord's Supper," and that "the Lord's Supper is a converting ordinance."

Such teaching accorded well with the popular desire to enjoy the credit and secure the advantages of Church membership without the experience of personal piety or the inconveniences imposed by a life of self-denial. The godless spirit of the times, coupled with his commanding influence, spread the evil leaven far and wide, and a subtle sacramentarianism, mingled with a pervasive power, derived from the political motives in which it was originated, filled the Churches with an unconverted membership and threatened the very life of religion wherever it came. Men felt no need of any justification or new birth beyond what submission to the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper offered, and the vital experience of godliness was lost in a conventional observance of religious ceremonials. The sense of sin was deadened and the need of salvation was scarcely felt. Dr. Increase Mather, in a book entitled "The Glory Departing from New England," bewailed the situation on this wise: "We are the posterity of the good old Puritan Nonconformists in England, who were a strict and holy people. Such were our fathers who followed the Lord into the wilderness. O, New England, New England, look to it that the glory be not re-

moved from thee, for it begins to go! O, degenerate New England, what art thou come to at this day! How are those sins become so common in thee that were not so much as heard of in this land!" Of the state of religion in New Jersey, Jonathan Dickinson reports: "Religion was in a very low state, professors generally dead and lifeless, and the body of our people careless, carnal, and secure." The case in Pennsylvania Rev. Samuel Blair thus sadly states: "Religion lay, as it were, dying, and ready to expire its last breath of life in this part of the visible Church." The same conditions obtained everywhere throughout all the colonies, from New England to the far South.

But, despite the general deadness in the Churches, here and there were not a few devout men whose hearts God had touched. They began about the year 1730 to revive the all but forgotten doctrine of justification by faith and to call men to repentance. Most prominent among these may be mentioned Jonathan Edwards, the Tennents (Gilbert and William), Bellamy, Griswold, Wheelock, Robinson, and Blair. These were the American leaders of the great awakening, and they were mightily assisted in 1740 by that most remarkable man,

George Whitefield, who came over from England in 1739.

The movement began at Northampton, where Edwards, after being the associate pastor with his grandfather for two years, became his successor on his death. It began in the latter part of December, 1734. "Then it was," says Edwards, "that the Spirit of God began extraordinarily to set in, and wonderfully to work among us; and there were very suddenly, one after another, five or six persons who were, to all appearance, savingly converted, and some of them wrought upon in a very remarkable manner. Particularly, I was surprised with the relation of a young woman who had been one of the greatest company-keepers in the whole town. When she came to me I had never heard that she was in any wise serious, but by the conversation I then had with her it appeared to me that what she gave an account of was a glorious work of God's infinite power and sovereign grace, and that God had given her a new heart, truly broken and sanctified. I could not then doubt of it, and have seen much, in my acquaintance with her since, to confirm it. The news of it seemed to be almost like a flash of lightning upon the hearts of the

young people all over the town, and upon many others. Those persons among us who used to be farthest from seriousness, and that I most feared would make an ill improvement of it, seemed greatly to be awakened by it; many went to talk with her concerning what she had met with, and what appeared in her seemed to be to the satisfaction of all who did so. Presently, upon this, a great and earnest concern about the great things of religion and the eternal world became universal in all parts of the town, and among persons of all degrees and ages; the noise among the dry bones waxed louder and louder; all other talk but about spiritual and eternal things was soon thrown by; all the conversation in all companies, and upon all occasions, was upon these things only, unless so much as was necessary for people carrying on their ordinary secular business. Other discourse than of the things of religion would scarcely be tolerated in any company. . . . There was scarcely a single person in the town, either old or young, that was left unconcerned about the great things of the eternal world. . . . And the work of conversion was carried on in the most astonishing manner, and increased more and more; souls did, as it were,

come by flocks to Jesus Christ. From day to day, for many months together, might be seen evident instances of sinners brought out of darkness into marvelous light, and delivered out of a horrible pit and from the miry clay, and set upon a rock with a new song of praise to God in their mouths. This work of God as it was carried on, and the number of true saints multiplied, soon made a glorious alteration in the town, so that in the spring and summer following, anno 1735, the town seemed to be full of the presence of God—it never was so full of love, nor so full of joy, and yet so full of distress as it was then. There were remarkable tokens of God's presence in almost every house. It was a time of joy in families on account of salvation being brought to them—parents rejoicing over their children as newborn, and husbands over their wives, and wives over their husbands. The doings of God were then seen in his sanctuary, God's day was a delight and his tabernacles were amiable."

Such is the account of the beginning of this great work, given by a man the farthest possible removed from fanaticism—a man of philosophic mind, a graduate of Yale College, and of whom Robert Hall said: "I consider him

the greatest of the sons of men." Many persons from the neighboring towns came to see the wonderful work. "Many," to use the words of Edwards, "that came to town on one occasion and another had their consciences smitten and awakened, and went home with wounded hearts and with impressions that never wore off until they had hopefully a saving issue; and those that before had serious thoughts had their awakenings and convictions greatly increased." Thus the work spread, reaching rapidly South Hadley, Suffield, Sunderland, Deerfield, Hatfield, Northfield, and many other points throughout New England.

At a little later time there was, quite independently of the work at Northampton, an awakening in New Jersey, principally in connection with the labors of William and Gilbert Tennent.

While it is true that in the latter part of May, 1735, the work at Northampton began to decline, and continued to do so, with various fluctuations, until the coming of Whitefield in 1740, it did not utterly perish. Many of its best effects remained. In the towns and Churches to which it had been communicated there was a marked improvement in spirituality and a notable uplift in

morals. More clear and correct views of the religious life prevailed. Men began to realize the wide difference between a real and a nominal Christian, and of the great change by which that difference is brought to pass. Revivals like that at Northampton came again, as in former times, to be regarded as very desirable; so that they were prayed for and expected. And prayer was answered in that after the decline of the work at Northampton there were many awakenings at various points in the colonies until, by 1739, such events had become numerous and conspicuous. In August, 1739, there was a remarkable revival at Newark, N. J., under the ministry of Jonathan Dickinson, which, beginning mainly among the young people, increased in power and extent until, by November following, the whole town was brought under its influence. At Harvard, Mass., under the ministry of Rev. John Seccomb, a similar work of grace began in September of the same year. In March of the next year, at New Londonderry, Pa., under the ministry of Rev. Samuel Blair, there was an awakening of considerable interest. These, and other instances which might be mentioned, show how the leaven of a new life was working in many places widely separated from

each other, but all disclosing remarkably similar conditions and results.

But the great awakening did not reach its culmination until Whitefield came. It was in the spring of the year 1735, when the town of Northampton was all ablaze with the first revival under Edwards, that this matchless evangelist was converted at Oxford, England. In 1736 he was ordained a deacon in the Church of England, and in May, 1738, when the glow of the awakening at Northampton had nearly vanished away, he arrived at Savannah, Ga. After a three months' stay in the new colony, he returned to England to secure for himself priest's orders, and to collect much-needed funds for the orphanage he had projected. He secured both the orders and the funds, and, being providentially detained in the United Kingdom, he began that wonderful career as an evangelist which he continued until his death. His amazing eloquence and irresistible fervor drew hundreds to the churches in which he first appeared. The multitudes so thronged to his ministry that the churches were eventually closed to him, and the Bishop of London issued a pastoral letter warning the people against him. Then he went to the fields, whither thousands of every rank

and station of life followed him to hear the wonderful words of life which fell from his youthful lips, touched with heavenly fire. As soon as the embargo, whereby he had been detained in England, was lifted, he sailed for America, taking passage for Philadelphia, but bound for Georgia. His great and sudden fame had preceded him to the New World, notwithstanding the slow methods of communication common in those days. The party with which he started back to his work in Georgia consisted of seventeen persons, including himself and William Seward. After a voyage of eleven weeks they came to land, on October 30, 1739, at Lewistown, about a hundred and fifty miles from Philadelphia. On the next day he preached by request, and at five oclock in the afternoon, in company with Seward and another friend, set out on horseback for Philadelphia, the rest of his party, which he called his "family," proceeding thither by water. By 11 P.M., November 2, with his two friends, he arrived at the "City of Brotherly Love." Next morning he "went aboard the Elizabeth to see his family;" then visited the officials of the town, and, after holding communion "with some precious souls," he "hired a house at a very cheap rate and was quite settled

in it before night." He was a man of swift movements, and he began preaching at once in the churches and on the "courthouse stairs," preaching twice or thrice every day while he remained in the city, and holding earnest conversations with men and women, ministers and laymen of all the Churches, including Episcopalians, Quakers, Baptists, and Presbyterians. Thousands flocked to hear him. The population of the city at that time did not exceed 12,000 souls, yet his audiences when he preached from the courthouse stairs numbered from 6,000 to 8,000. It thus appears that he drew not only the people of the city, but those also of neighboring places. Among others who came to see and hear him was the venerable William Tennent, founder of the famous "Log College," and father of Charles, John, William, and Gilbert Tennent. He was now keeping an academy at Neshaminy, and met Whitefield on November 10 in Philadelphia, and by his coming Whitefield "was much comforted." On November 12 the great evangelist set out overland for New York. On the way he preached at "Burlington in the Jerseys." At Brunswick he preached in the church of Gilbert Tennent, whom he describes as a man of about forty years of age, and of

whom he says: "He and his associates are now the burning and shining lights in this part of America." Tennent joined his party in the visit to New York, where they arrived at about four o'clock in the afternoon of November 14, having spent the time on the way "most agreeably in telling one another what God had done for their souls." They were hospitably received by a Mr. Noble, and at night in the "meetinghouse" (not "the church") Tennent preached. Of the sermon Whitefield says: "I never before heard such a searching sermon. He convinced me more and more that we can preach the gospel of Christ no further than we have experienced the power of it in our own hearts. Being deeply convicted of sin by God's Holy Spirit, at his first conversion, Mr. Tennent has learned experimentally to dissect the heart of the natural man. Hypocrites must soon be converted or enraged at his preaching. He is a son of thunder and does not fear the faces of men." The evangelist tarried but four days in New York, preaching in the open air and in the Presbyterian "meetinghouse" in charge of Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton, because the Episcopal Church and the town hall were both denied him. Of his four days' ministry in New York a correspond-

ent of Prince's *Christian History* (a periodical founded by the suggestion of Jonathan Edwards to promote the great revival by publishing the results of the work as it progressed) wrote: "I never saw in my life such attentive audiences as Mr. Whitefield's in New York. All he said was demonstration, life, and power. The people's eyes and ears hung upon his lips. They greedily devoured every word. He preached during four days, twice every day. He is a man of middle stature, of a slender body, of a fair complexion, and of a comely appearance. He is of a sprightly, cheerful temper, and acts and moves with great agility and life. The endowments of his mind are uncommon; his wit is quick and piercing: his imagination lively and florid; and, as far as I can discern, both are under the direction of a solid judgment. He has a most ready memory and, I think, speaks entirely without notes. He has a clear and musical voice, and a wonderful command of it. He uses much gesture but with great propriety. Every accent of his voice, every motion of his body speaks; and both are natural and unaffected. If his delivery be the product of art, it is certainly the perfection of it, for it is entirely concealed. He has a great mastery of words,

but studies much plainness of speech. He spends not his zeal in trifles. He breathes a most catholic spirit, and professes that his whole design is to bring men to Christ, and that if he can obtain this end his converts may go to what Church and worship God in what form they like best."

What a picture of a preacher just twenty-four years of age! Nobody thought of such a man as a "boy preacher," for his power was not in any juvenile peculiarity of person, precocity of mind, or eccentricity of manner, but in demonstration of the Spirit.

From New York he proceeded to Elizabethtown, N. J., in response to a letter from the Rev. Jonathan Dickinson, the pastor of the Presbytetian Church at that place. There he preached on November 19, and then went on to New Brunswick, where on November 20 he preached three times in Gilbert Tennent's church. In his congregation was present that day Rev. Theodore J. Frelinghuysen, who was pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church at Raritan, N. J., and who later was very efficient in the promotion of the great evangelical movement. From New Brunswick he went to Maidenhead, where he preached from a wagon to about fifteen hundred people, Rev. John Rowland, an irregular but exceeding-

ly effective revivalist, who was very useful in his day, having arranged for the service in the open air. From Maidenhead he went to Trenton, attended by a company of "above thirty horse," where he preached in the courthouse.

Leaving Trenton on Thursday, November 22, he set out for Neshaminy, twenty miles away, where the venerable William Tennent, the keeper of the academy, had made an appointment for him to preach. He was delayed until about twelve o'clock in reaching the place, and when he arrived he found the aged minister and teacher preaching to a congregation of above three thousand people. When the belated evangelist came up, the old man stopped his discourse. After the singing of a Psalm, Whitefield began to speak, and at the conclusion of his discourse Gilbert Tennent, who had come with him from New Brunswick, gave a word of exhortation. The exercises being over, they went home with "old Mr. Tennent, who entertained them like one of the ancient prophets," says Whitefield in his journal. Of this visit to the founder of the "Log College," a visit of great importance in the history of the great awakening, the journal says: "His wife seemed to me like Elizabeth and he like Zacharias; both, as far as I

can find, walk in all the ordinances and commandments of the Lord, blameless. We had sweet communion with each other and spent the evening in concerting measures for promoting our Lord's kingdom. It happens very providentially that Mr. Tennent and his brethren are appointed to be a presbytery by the synod, so that they intend breeding up gracious youths, and sending them out into the Lord's vineyard. The place where the young men study now is in contempt called 'the College.' It is a log house, about twenty feet long and nearly as many broad; and to me it seemed to resemble the school of the old prophets. From this despised place seven or eight worthy ministers of Jesus have lately been sent forth; more are almost ready to be sent; and a foundation is now laying for the instruction of many others. The devil will certainly rage against them; but the work, I am persuaded, is of God and will not come to naught. Carnal ministers oppose them strongly, and because people, when awakened by Mr. Tennent or his brethren, see through them, and therefore leave their ministry, the poor gentlemen are loaded with contempt, and looked upon as persons who turn the world upside down."

And those "Log College men" were of the company of them who were to bear a considerable part in turning the New World upside down. The present-day graduates of Princeton University do not affect more influentially the republic of to-day than those men who then went forth from the "Log College" affected the colonies. Among them were the four sons of William Tennent, and Rowland and Robinson and Samuel Blair. Whitefield was touching one of the very fountain heads of the great awakening when he preached on that bleak November morning at Neshaminy, and in the evening conferred with the Tennents and concerted "measures for promoting the Lord's kingdom."

From Neshaminy he rode to Abingdon, ten miles distant, and preached "to above two thousand people from a porch window belonging to the meetinghouse." From Abingdon he hastened to Philadelphia, where he found his "family" in good order and all things carried on according to his desire. On the journey to and from New York he was gone from Philadelphia ten days—from November 13 to November 23. But in that brief space he had stirred the young metropolis of the coming nation, kindled revival fires all along the way he had passed over,

and contracted a lifetime friendship with the Tennents. All this meant much to the progress and power of the great awakening.

He remained in Philadelphia six days, and then, after settling all the affairs of his "family" to his satisfaction, he directed them to set sail for Georgia immediately after his own departure from Philadelphia by land. During those six days, excepting November 27, when he went to Germantown for a service, he preached twice a day in the city. The church not being able to hold the people who thronged to hear him, on Wednesday, November 28, he went to the fields and "preached for an hour and a half, from a balcony, to upward of ten thousand hearers, very attentive and much affected."

On the day he left Philadelphia, November 29, the people crowded around the door of the house where he lodged, from seven o'clock in the morning, weeping bitterly as they parted from him. Nearly a score of men accompanied him and William Seward out of town, and seven miles out they were joined by another company who were waiting to meet them, so that they proceeded to Chester in a band of "nearly two hundred horse." They reached Chester by three in the afternoon, and from a balcony he preached

to "about five thousand people," nearly a thousand of whom had followed him from Philadelphia. Of the influence of Whitefield's ministry upon the people of Pennsylvania, Benjamin Franklin wrote in his journal: "From being thoughtless and indifferent about religion, it seemed as if all the world were growing religious, so that one could not walk through Philadelphia in the evening without hearing Psalms sung in different families of every street."

From Chester he went to Wilmington, Del., where he met another of the Tennents, William the younger, whom he describes as "a faithful minister of Jesus Christ." Thence he went on to Newcastle, Christian Bridge, and Whiteclay Creek, which last place he reached on December 2. There he preached to about ten thousand people, assembled under a tent "erected by order of Charles Tennent, whose meetinghouse was near the place." "The weather was rainy and cold," but the people came together to hear him despite all discomforts and inconveniences. "Many souls were melted down," he says, at the two services he held under the tent at Whiteclay Creek.

From there he went into Maryland, preaching at North East, Joppa, Newton, Annapolis, and

Upper Marlborough. He passed on through Virginia and the Carolinas, preaching as he went, and after a journey of five weeks' duration, through primeval forests, uncultivated plains, and miasmal swamps, he reached Savannah, January, 1740. His "family" he sent by water, while he went by land, as "the voice of one crying in the wilderness."

Arrived at Savannah he busied himself with the erection of his Orphan House, and with preaching almost every day. His themes, according to the "Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia," by William Stephens, Esq., were "Justification by Faith" and "Regeneration," which subjects, and the sermons of Whitefield upon them, it should be remarked, the said William Stephens, Esq., and his associates in Georgia did not relish.

He remained in Savannah about a month, when, on February 11, he started to Frederica "to pay his respects to General Oglethorpe, and to fetch the orphans in the southern part of the colony" to his Orphan House at Savannah. He was gone seventeen days on this journey, and returned to the orphanage on February 28 with four orphans. A fortnight afterwards he embarked for Charleston to see his brother, who

was "lately arrived there from England." On March 21 he was back again in Savannah, having spent from the 15th to the 20th in Charleston, where he preached daily in the Independent and Baptist "meetinghouses," being denied admission to the pulpit of "the Church" by the Rev. Alexander Garden, the pompous little "commissary" of the Bishop of London in the Colony of South Carolina.

After a stay of nine days in Savannah, on the 30th day of March he took affectionate leave of his parishioners, "because it appeared that Providence called him toward the northward." In their own sloop, the *Savannah*, he and William Seward set out on the journey which occupied the next two months, touching at Charleston, from which port they sailed on April 2. After a voyage of ten days, they landed at Newcastle, in Pennsylvania, on April 13, which was Sunday. Whitefield preached in the Episcopal Church in the morning, and after the service Seward rode to Christian Bridge and Whiteclay Creek (where Charles Tennent was pastor) to announce that the great evangelist would preach again at Newcastle in the afternoon. Quickly Tennent and others, to the number of two hundred, mounted their horses

and galloped away to Newcastle to hear him. From Newcastle he proceeded to Philadelphia, stopping at Wilmington on the way, where, from the balcony of the house in which he lodged, he preached to about 3,000 people. By this route he had gone southward, and now, returning northward, he was met with many and striking evidences of the effectiveness of his first preaching in America. At Newcastle Charles Tennent told him how that, as a result of his former visit to that region, "a general outward reformation was visible," and how "many ministers had been quickened and congregations increased." At Wilmington many persons came to see him, among them Mr. Jones, the Baptist minister, who informed him of the progress of the awakening, particularly mentioning the cases of two other ministers who had been awakened by Whitefield's preaching. One of them, Mr. Morgan, on his conversion had at once become active in the work, and "had gone forth preaching toward the seacoast in the Jerseys;" the other, Mr. Treat, "had told his congregation that he had been hitherto deceiving himself and them, and that he could not preach again at present, but desired them to join in prayer with him." These accounts

deeply impressed and greatly encouraged Whitefield, who, in a letter written on the day he reached Philadelphia, says: "I find that God has been pleased to do great things by what he enabled me to deliver when here last year. Two ministers have been convinced of their formal state, notwithstanding they held and preached the doctrines of grace. One plainly told the congregation that he had been deceiving himself and them, and could not preach any more, but desired the people to pray with him. The other is now a flame of fire, and has been much owned of God. Very many, I believe, of late have been brought savingly to believe on the Lord Jesus. The work much increases. A primitive spirit revives."

He arrived in Philadelphia on April 14, and remained until the 23d—nine days. The parish church was now denied him, as had not been the case on his previous visit. But this turned out to the furtherance of the gospel through him, for his friends erected a stage for him on what was called Society Hill, around which, as if drawn by magic, congregations, numbering from five to fifteen thousand people, gathered to hear him. During the nine days he preached not only to multitudes in the city, but also to

thousands at neighboring points, visiting Abingdon, Whitemarsh, Germantown, Greenwich, and Gloucester.

Besides reviving the Churches already in existence in Philadelphia, Whitefield's ministry led to the establishment of the Presbyterian Church of which Gilbert Tennent some years later became the pastor. It began in a building erected for the use of the Tennents and their associates. This building afterwards became the first seat of the University of Pennsylvania.

From Philadelphia, he proceeded over his former track to Neshaminy, Shippack, Amwell, and New Brunswick. At Shippack he first met the celebrated Moravian, Peter Böhler, who was so intimately connected with John Wesley at a critical moment in the history of that great man. At Amwell, Gilbert Tennent and three other Presbyterian preachers from New Brunswick came to meet him, in whose company he went to New Brunswick, and preached on Sunday, April 27, to congregations of seven or eight thousand souls.

From New Brunswick, he "dispatched" William Seward to England, to "bring over a fellow-laborer, and to transact several affairs of importance," while he went on his itinerary,

preaching at Woodbridge, Elizabethtown, and other points.

On April 29 he arrived at New York, where he "preached on the common to five or six thousand." During the night the people erected for him a scaffold from which on April 30 he preached twice, to congregations which, it was estimated, were composed of over eight thousand people. He stayed at New York four days, during which time, besides preaching eight times in the city, he preached once in a church which the Dutch ministers of Long Island opened to him. Then, returning toward Philadelphia, he preached to multitudes at Freehold, Allentown, Burlington, and Bristol.

On May 8 he preached in Philadelphia twice, to larger congregations than ever before there. There he remained till May 12, preaching daily, as before, to immense assemblies. Then he set his face southward, preaching at Derby, Chester, Wilmington, Whiteclay Creek, Nottingham, Fagg's Manor, and Newcastle. At the last-mentioned place his sloop, the *Savannah,* awaited him, which he boarded on May 15. In the brief space of one month he had preached twice a day at points all along the way from Newcastle to New York, and back again, and thereby stirred the

people in all the intervening region as they had never been moved before. It is quite probable that he came as near preaching to every person in the whole district thus traversed as did John the Baptist in Palestine, when the excited multitudes of Jerusalem and Judea and the region around about Jordan went out to hear the gospel of repentance preached with unearthly power by the fiery prophet of the wilderness.

After an absence of nine weeks, he was again in Savannah on June 5. He found revival fires kindled in the Orphanage, and fanned them to a flame. On June 13 he wrote to a minister at New York: "Wonderful things have been done since my arrival at Savannah. Such an awakening among little children, I never saw before."

On June 23 he went up to Ebenezer to visit the Saltzburghers, of which visit he says: "I had sweet communion with their ministers." He stayed with them two days and returned to Savannah, where he remained until June 30. Of his preaching at this time, William Stephens, Esq., in his "Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia," says: "Mr. Whitefield always preaches and prays extempore. For some time past he has laid aside his surplice, and has managed to get justification by faith and the new birth into

every sermon." Robes and rituals had come to be of small importance to this man whose fervent soul was fixed on the great essentials of that life which is by the living Spirit. Unpersuasive dogmas, without practical value in inducing men to come to Christ, were also reckoned as of secondary importance; for while it is beyond doubt that he was an ardent Calvinist, he writes John Wesley, on June 25: "For Christ's sake, dear sir, if possible, never speak against election in your sermons. No one can say that I ever preached it in public discourse, whatever my private sentiments may be."

On June 30 he left Savannah and went to Charleston, S. C., where he remained three weeks, from July 2 to July 24, the twenty-two days being spent in preaching in the city and at neighboring points, and in defending himself against the persecutions and prosecutions of "Commissary Garden." Then he returned to Savannah, where he tarried about two weeks. On August 21 he was back in Charleston, preaching during a brief sojourn there once every day and twice on Sundays. The diverting "Commissary Garden" was still frothing and fuming against him. Some impression of the situation in Charleston may be gathered from the follow-

ing passage taken out of his journal: "The audiences were more numerous than ever. It was supposed that not less than four thousand were in and about the meetinghouse when I preached my farewell sermon. Being denied the sacrament at church, I administered it thrice in a private house—namely, yesterday, yesterday seven-night, and this morning. Never did I see anything more solemn. The room was large, and most of the communicants were dissolved in tears. Surely Jesus was evidently set forth before us. Baptists, Churchmen, and Presbyterians all joined together, and received according to the Church of England, excepting two, who desired to have it sitting. I willingly complied, knowing that it was a thing quite indifferent."

What catholicity of spirit was this, and that, too, in an age marked by theological controversy! This scene showed a characteristic feature of Whitefield's ministry—he was not concerned for things "indifferent," and the multitudes whom his sermons influenced caught from him the same spirit. It was well that such a ministry came to America at this time, and that it inspired such a spirit among the people. If the colonists had been less tenacious of their denominational tenets at an earlier day, re-

ligion would have been suffocated by indifference; if a more genial spirit of tolerance and catholicity had not now begun to be prevalent, Christianity would have perished in the throes of faction, and national unity of action would have been impossible thirty years later, when the revolutionary contest with Great Britain began.

A few days afterwards he sailed for New England, and landed at Newport, R. I., on Sunday evening, September 14, 1740. There he remained until the morning of the 17th, preaching, as was the case wherever he went, to vast congregations. On the evening of the 18th he arrived in Boston, which was at that time the largest city in any of the colonies, having, as it did, above 15,000 inhabitants. He went to Boston on the invitation of the Rev. Dr. Colman, and was welcomed by all the Bostonians "except a famous doctor of divinity, who met him in the streets, and said, 'I am sorry to see you here;' and to whom Whitefield quietly remarked, 'So is the devil.'"

He spent ten days in Boston and its immediate neighborhood, preaching daily to immense congregations. The next seven days were occupied with visiting several important towns at

a greater distance, including Ipswich, Marblehead, Salem, and Newbury. In the four days he rode one hundred and seventy-eight miles and preached sixteen times. Returning, then, to Boston, he tarried there and in the vicinity seven other days, preaching during the week at Charleston and Cambridge. On October 12th he preached his farewell sermon to the Bostonians, assembled in the open air on the commons. The governor of the colony carried him in his coach to the service, where he was met by a congregation of nearly 20,000 people, of which occasion he writes in his journal: "I preached my farewell sermon to nearly twenty thousand people—a sight which I have not seen since I left Blackheath." In the month which had passed since he landed at Newport he had preached twice a day, and had addressed more people in New England than any public speaker had ever addressed before. Departing, he writes thus of this, his first visit to Boston and the surrounding region: "God works by me more than ever. I am quite well in bodily health. Ministers, as well as people, are stirred up, and the government is exceeding civil. . . . God shows me that America must be my place for action."

At his suggestion and request Gilbert Tennent came to Boston, two months afterwards, to carry on the work, and continued to labor there nearly four months. This wondrous movement, thus begun at Boston by Whitefield and prosecuted by Gilbert Tennent, continued for a year and a half. As a result of it thousands united with the Churches, the zeal of those who had been members of the Churches previous to Whitefield's coming was kindled into a flame, the ministers preached as never before, and thirty new religious societies were instituted in the city. Similar results followed in the neighboring towns.

Leaving Boston, Whitefield preached at Concord, October 13, Sudbury and Marlborough on the 14th, and reached Northampton, the home of Jonathan Edwards, on the 17th. He tarried with Edwards until the 20th, preaching daily in the church of which that extraordinary man was pastor. They had never met before. Whitefield describes Edwards as "a solid, excellent Christian," and Edwards speaks of Whitefield's work while in Northampton on this wise: "The congregation was extraordinarily melted by every sermon, almost the whole assembly being in tears. His sermons were suitable to the

circumstances of the town, containing just reproofs for our backslidings, and, in a most moving and affecting manner, making use of our great mercies as arguments with us to return to God, from whom we had departed. Immediately after this the minds of the people in general appeared more engaged in religion. The revival was at first principally among professors, to whom Mr. Whitefield had chiefly addressed himself, but in a short time there was deep concern among young persons. By the middle of December a very considerable work of God appeared, and the revival continued to increase."

The work at Northampton and vicinity continued, with scarcely a perceptible interruption or decline, for the next two years. Thus, in 1740, Whitefield revived Edwards's revival of 1735.

Leaving Northampton, Whitefield proceeded to New York, preaching at Hatfield, Westfield, Suffield, Hertford, Weathersfield, Middletown, New Haven, Milford, Stratford, Fairfield, Newark, and Stanford during the ten days he was on the way. The region thus traversed had been blessed in the awakening which began at Northampton five years before, and Whitefield

now rekindled the dying fires all along the journey as he passed.

He remained four days in New York, and preached seven times. "There was a great and gracious melting among the people," he says. Thence he started to Philadelphia, and during the five days of his journey thither he preached at Staten Island, Newark, Baskinridge, New Brunswick, and Trenton. At New Brunswick he met Gilbert and William Tennent, and, as previously stated, arranged that the former should go and help carry on the work in Boston —an epochal step in the history of the great awakening. About the first of November he reached Philadelphia, and wrote to Howell Harris: "Little did I think, when Mr. E—— J—— wrote, that I should preach in all the chief cities of America; but that is now done." And it was even so, although he had been in the country only a little more than a year. In that time he had twice covered the distance between New York and Savannah, had made repeated visits to Charleston, S. C., had made the voyage to New England, stirred Boston and all the surrounding country, had passed over the track of the revival of 1735, revisited New York, preached for the third time over

the way between New York and Philadelphia, and was now back at the latter place, where a year before he had seen the first great triumphs of his gospel in the New World. It is certain that he was now known by sight to more people in America than was any other man in the colonies.

On Sunday morning, November 9, he preached in the house that had been built since his last visit, and which, as has been before mentioned, became the home of Gilbert Tennent's Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, and eventually the first seat of the University of Pennsylvania. He describes it thus: "It is a hundred feet long and seventy feet broad. It was never preached in before. The roof is not up yet, but the people raised a convenient pulpit and boarded the bottom." During the following week, spent so happily among his friends in Philadelphia, he preached in this roofless building twice every day except one morning, when there was so much snow within the walls that it became necessary to repair to "the Presbyterian meeting-house."

He left Philadelphia November 17, and started for Savannah, preaching as he went to assembled thousands at Gloucester, Greenwich,

Piles Grove, Cohansie, Salem, Newcastle, White-clay Creek, Fagg's Manor, Nottingham, Bohemia, St. George's, Reedy Island, and Charleston, S. C. He arrived at Savannah Saturday, December 13, after an absence of eighteen weeks, during which time he had preached nearly two hundred times, and had kindled great revival fires throughout all the colonies. Thus he closed the year 1740, and the "Great Awakening of 1740" was so called from the year in which he completed for the first time his circuit of the entire country.

He remained in Savannah until New Year's Day, 1741. While nominally incumbent of the parish for the three preceding years, he had really spent less than four months during the whole period in the Colony of Georgia.

Leaving Savannah January 1, 1741, he went again to Charleston, where he arrived on January 4. He remained in Charleston twelve days, during which time he was brought before the civil magistrate in a proceeding for libel, which was no doubt instigated by "Commissary Garden." Nevertheless, he preached twice every day to large congregations. On January 16 he went aboard the *Minerva* and took passage for England, landing at Falmouth on March 11.

Thus was ended his second visit to America. This detailed account of his movements during that eventful period of a year and a half is given because, without such a particular narration, his part in the great awakening cannot be justly measured, nor can that mighty movement be fully comprehended. Moreover, this first circuit of the colonies is typical of all his five subsequent visits, except that his fourth visit was cut suddenly short, when it had scarcely begun, and that in his later visits he more deeply affected Virginia and the other Southern colonies, and extended his labors to the Bermudas. Having narrated so particularly the events of this second visit to America, a minute history of these subsequent visits is unnecessary. His ministry to America may be expressed in this statement: On behalf of this Western world he crossed the Atlantic, in slow-sailing vessels, thirteen times; evangelized the British Colonies from Maine to Georgia; rekindled the expiring fires of the revivals begun by Edwards and the Tennents, fanning them to a flame which eventually swept as a general conflagration throughout all the colonies; and, by repeated circuits of the country, prolonged the revival movement in a greater or less degree of vigor until his death, in

1770, a few years before the outbreak of the War for Independence, and a year after the arrival in the New World of the first Wesleyan preachers, by whom, and their successors, mighty revivals were brought to pass in later years.

Dr. Abel Stevens thus summarizes some of the more striking results of Whitefield's ministry in America: "The Congregational Churches of New England, the Presbyterians and Baptists of the Middle States, and the mixed colonies of the South owe their religious life and energy to the impulse given by Whitefield's powerful ministration. The great awakening, under Edwards, had not only subsided before Whitefield's arrival, but had reacted. Whitefield restored it, and the New England Churches received, under his labors, an inspiration of zeal and energy which has never died out. He extended the revival from the Congregational Churches of the Eastern to the Presbyterian Churches of the Middle States. In Pennsylvania and New Jersey, where Frelinghuysen, Blair, Rowland, and the two Tennents had been laboring with evangelical zeal, he was received as a prophet of God; and it was then that the Presbyterian Church took that attitude of evangelical power and aggression which has

ever since characterized it. Whitefield's preaching, and especially the reading of his printed sermons in Virginia, led to the founding of the Presbyterian Church in that State, whence it has extended to the South and Southwest. The stock from which the Baptists of Virginia and those in all the South and Southwest have sprung was also Whitefieldian. And, though Whitefield did not organize the results of his labors, he prepared the way for Wesley's itinerants. When he descended into his American grave they were already on his track. They came not only to labor, but to organize their labors; to reproduce, amid the peculiar moral necessities of the New World, both the spirit and method of the great movement as it had been organized by Wesley in the Old."

Before passing from Whitefield's part in the great awakening, it is important to notice several peculiarities of his work which wonderfully adapted it to exercise a controlling and benign influence during that period of the nation's history when the colonies were to come together in a federal union. And first, let it be remarked that his doctrines of evangelical and experimental Christianity, as opposed to sacramentarianism and formalism in religion, mightily contributed

to the development of the spirit of freedom. A man who, without the intervention of priestly absolution or sacramentarian ceremony, feels that he is justified by faith and born of the Spirit, receiving directly from God the assurance of his deliverance from the guilt and power of sin, inevitably conceives that he must be free. Priestcraft in religion and absolutism in government go naturally together; but where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty, even political liberty in the end. Puritan experience of that liberty, wherewith Christ makes men free, destroyed absolutism in England, and the same spirit, aroused and invigorated by the revival under Whitefield's ministry, prepared the way in no small degree for constitutional freedom in the United States. And this spirit of liberty, it should be observed, differs from that mad frenzy that made and marred the French Revolution by so much as it is, by virtue of the fervent love with which it coexists in the divinely renewed heart, purged from the dross of selfishness and the virus of vindictiveness. One who is a son of God by the adoption of the new birth not only conceives respect for his own manhood, but reverence for the manhood of all other men. He claims

freedom for himself and denies not liberty to others.

Whitefield was a Calvinist of the Calvinists; otherwise he could never have secured access to the Churches which represented the organized Christianity of the colonies at his coming. They would with one consent have rejected Wesley as a heretic and have closed their doors against him. But Whitefield did not, as he wrote Wesley, preach his Calvinism. He laid the emphasis of his ministry on the experimental doctrines of justification by faith and the new birth, leaving men to find their election by experiencing saving grace. Had he come preaching and believing Arminianism as Wesley did, he would have raised a continental controversy that would have hindered all the forces of union and multiplied all the divisive tendencies of the times. But coming with his gospel of saving grace, omitting to preach election, in which he believed, the revival which resulted from his ministry fused the discordant elements of the heterogeneous peoples of the colonies into one family of God. The Baptists even united with him in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Thus the colonists, being mainly of British ancestry and who had some bond of unity by birth, came to

have a far nobler and more effective kinship by the new birth. And the spirit of unity was the more promoted because Whitefield organized no new Church, as Wesley most certainly would have done under similar circumstances. It was Whitefield, not Wesley, that America needed just at that moment.

But it would have been most unfortunate if Whitefield's sermons, by which the hearts of men were so strongly drawn and so firmly knit to him, had been of a character to forestall the Methodist itinerants of a little later day. This most surely would have been the case had he preached with his wonted zeal the Calvinism which he sincerely believed. But this he did not do, and the meetings of the Wesleyan preachers, when they came, were more like Whitefield's revival than Whitefield's meetings were like the services of the Calvinists of the colonies when he came. This meant much in the making of the nation.

Having examined in detail the history of the great awakening, from its local beginnings under the ministry of Edwards and the Tennents, to its culmination in a national revival under the leadership of Whitefield, we are prepared to sum up its effects and to measure its influence

on the British Colonies, as they moved toward the unity of a single nation, during this eventful period of their history.

In estimating the force and appraising the value of the great movement, it must be candidly conceded that it was not unattended with some things which cannot be approved. There were extravagances and irregularities wholly foreign to the spirit of Christ, such, for example, as the follies and foibles manifested by James Davenport. There was also a spirit of censoriousness sometimes engendered, which even Whitefield did not escape, and which he subsequently confessed most frankly and lamented most sincerely. But all these things are almost inevitable when such a work is done. A great springtime cannot burst upon the world with the precision and orderliness of a mechanically directed movement. It will give rise, by its very nature, to exuberances and excesses. Such was the case in the Corinthian and Thessalonian Churches in apostolic times. Similar conditions attended the labors of Martin Luther and John Knox and Wickliffe. The greatest danger to religion at such a time, however, is not the unwise and excessive fervor of inexperienced souls, but the cold, calculating criticism with which

the worldly and phlegmatic members of the Church seek to restrain and correct the irregularities of the enthusiastic. A newly kindled fire will smoke most inconveniently and uncomfortably at the first; but if we seek to get rid of the smoke by smothering the blaze, we only make the matter worse. It is far better to help the fire to burn itself into a clear, smokeless flame. Paul's remedy for the disorders at Thessalonica was indicated by the exhortation "Quench not the Spirit. Despise not prophesyings." The critics of the great awakening were not so wise. They vainly attempted to clear away the smoke by putting out the fire. Thereby they made more smoke around themselves, and so came very naturally to say that the benign movement was all smoke. But the fire of Heaven was in it, and when all subtractions are made on account of the mistakes and sins of some who were identified with it, the following blessed results remain:

1. The Churches were greatly multiplied and their membership was amazingly increased. From 1740 to 1760 the Congregational Churches of New England were increased by 150 new churches. When it is remembered that the population of New England at that time was

only 250,000, such an increase in the churches of a single denomination was phenomenal. The Presbyterian, Baptist, and other Churches were proportionately increased.

As to the number of converts, James Hammond Trumbull estimates that in two or three years there were in New England alone thirty or forty thousand. If for the whole country we place the figures at 50,000—which is evidently far too low—we have a most extraordinary harvest of souls. The entire population of all the British colonies was then less than 2,000,000. The population of the United States now, excepting Porto Rico, Alaska, Hawaii, and the Philippine Islands, is 75,994,575, or, in round numbers, 76,000,000. If now we should be blessed with a continental revival by which as great a proportion of the people were converted as was the case in the great awakening, the result would be expressed by the number 1,900,000. How would not the country be stirred and revolutionized by the conversion of 1,900,000 souls now!

2. The piety of the Churches was as wonderfully elevated as their numbers were increased by the great awakening. It was qualitative as well as quantitative in its power. We

have seen how even the "Venerable Stoddard" had fallen under the influence of the opinion, prevalent before the revival, that a personal experience of grace was not requisite to Church membership. And if such was his position, what must have been the attitude of others to the subject? The colleges of that time received as candidates for the ministry young men who were without even the semblance of piety. If a candidate for ordination was not heretical in doctrine, nor scandalous in life, he was ordained without a question of his fitness. The ministry was therefore crowded with unconverted men. At the time of Whitefield's third visit to America, 1744 to 1748, there were not less than twenty ministers in the vicinity of Boston who confessed that they had never been converted until he came, in 1740—and New England was then the home of the best type of piety in all the land. If the sons of Levi were thus without God, what must have been the condition of the unofficial membership of the Churches?

But the great awakening changed all that. Members and ministers who had been the bane of the Churches came by conversion to be blessings to the land. Since that time no man has

dared to teach in the United States that an unconverted ministry is tolerable in the Churches. The evil leaven of that doctrine has been purged away forever—an immeasurable blessing that cannot be overstated!

3. The great awakening created and promoted a new spirit of catholicity among the Churches. It was no accident, but of providential purpose, that the first colonists were not all of one denomination, but were of diverse theological systems. For a long time it was well that they were tenacious of their tenets even to intolerance; otherwise a spirit of indifference might have utterly overwhelmed their faith during the first period of their temptation in the wilderness. We may look with much forbearance upon their occasional persecutions of each other, when we consider that men less earnest during such a period would probably have allowed religion to perish. But the hour had now come when their sharp sectarianism could no longer continue without serious hurt to religion and permanent damage to the country. Whitefield, with his broad, catholic spirit, and mightily absorbed in the work of saving souls without regard to denominational lines or sectarian systems, elevated to their proper position

the essentials of a pure Christianity and depressed to a just subordination things nonessential and indifferent. Thereby in reviving the life and power of primitive Christianity, he did also restore its true symmetry and proportions. This was great gain to godliness, and much advantage to the republic which was soon to be established. Hereby the Americans were saved from throwing away religion as did the French in their revolution, and also from quarreling over religion until purity perished in polemics.

4. A distinct and nobler manner of evangelizing and regenerating the masses was begun—a type more nearly a copy of the methods of the primitive Church, set forth in the Acts of the Apostles, than anything the world had seen for over sixteen centuries before. It was an advance on even the methods of such men as Bunyan and Baxter. It was not ritualistic but emphatically evangelistic. Some have called it contemptuously "revivalism." Let the name, given in derision, be accepted. Revivalism is the characteristic American way of building up the Churches—a way that began among the colonists and their fathers before they came to America, and which since the great awakening has continued with increasing power to yield the

peaceable fruits of righteousness. It is essentially a preaching type; its chief reliance is the gospel "preached with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven." It expects supernatural results from the Word, and it is not disappointed. It has produced the highest type of civilization and the purest form of Christianity on the planet. It can afford to endure with patience the jeers of the unthinking and unconverted.

In this connection may be quoted to advantage a striking passage from "The Americanization of the World," by W. T. Stead. He says: "Looking over the religious movements of the last century in the English-speaking world, there are five distinctly discernible. Of these five, only one is of English origin. The Tractarian movement of the middle century was distinctly Anglican, but, beyond a certain stimulus given to the sensuous exercise of divine worship, its influence was strictly confined within the limits of its own sect. The other four movements have been much wider in their sweep. The first and most persistent has been Revivalism. This was distinctly American in its origin. No doubt there have been revivals, or, as the Catholics would say, missions, in all ages

of the Church; but the systematized revival, the deliberate organization of religious services for the express purpose of rousing the latent moral enthusiasm of mankind, is a distinctly American product of the last century. Wesley and Whitefield may have sown its seeds, but it grew up across the Atlantic. Revivalism flourished in the United States long before it was acclimatized on this side of the water. . . It is easy to sneer at Revivalism, but it has been the means by which hundreds and thousands of men and women have found their way to a higher and purer life. The revivalist may often seem rude, uncultured, even vulgar, but in his untutored eloquence millions of men have heard for the first time the echoes of the Divine voice that spoke on Sinai, while the penitent form and the inquiry room have been to many a sin-stricken soul the antechamber of heaven. In this practical, workyday world men affect great admiration for those who do things, as opposed to the men who talk about them. But Revivalism has done things which the more cultured and refined would not even have ventured to attempt."

5. The great awakening turned the hearts of the fathers to the children and prepared the way for the Sunday school work of later times.

Edwards says: "God has also made his hand very visible and his work glorious in the multitudes of little children that have been wrought upon. I suppose there have been some hundreds of instances of this nature of late, any one of which formerly would have been looked upon as so remarkable as to be worthy to be recorded and published through the land." It may be observed in passing that the same characteristic marked the Wesleyan movement in Great Britain. It is not accidental, nor mysterious that the Sunday school work of the world to-day is mainly confined to the map of evangelistic Christianity, and that it scarcely goes beyond the lands directly affected by these great revivals of the eighteenth century.

6. The cause of missions was set forward by the great awakening. Tracy, in his famous book on the "Awakening," says: "The influence of this revival on the cause of missions to the heathen ought not to be overlooked. The New England Pilgrims had set the Protestant world the first example of such labors, and they and their descendants had sustained the work for more than a century. Societies had been formed in Great Britain to aid them, and at a later day some kindred movements had been commenced

on the continent of Europe. Within a few years, several missions had been established among the American Indians, but few conversions had followed them. The most prosperous was the Stockbridge Mission, under Sargent. The revival gave an impulse to the work at nearly all the stations. On Long Island thirty-five adults and forty-four children were baptized in two years from 1741. Soon after, there were numerous conversions among those near Stonington; and a visit from them was the means of awakening those in Westerly, R. I. . . . Heathenism seems to have been extirpated from that whole region. In 1743 Brainerd began his missionary career at Kaunaumeek. In 1745 he removed to New Jersey, and commenced his labors at the forks of the Delaware and Crosweeksung. His first visit to the latter place was attended with the evident presence of the Holy Spirit in the awakening and conviction of his hearers. When, after two weeks, he left them for a season, William Tennent was sent for and came to supply his place. The work went on under Tennent's preaching, and received a new impulse on Brainerd's return. All Christendom knows the glorious scenes that followed. These dates, the name of Tennent, and the history

of Brainerd while at New Haven, show that Brainerd's triumphs were a part of this great revival." Jonathan Edwards remarks: "The work is very glorious in its influences and effects on many that have been very ignorant and barbarous, as I before observed of the Indians and Negroes."

In this great revival was the promise and potency of all those subsequent efforts of American Churches to rescue the perishing Indian from the destructive vices of a secular civilization and the superstition of his own savage state. It may be doubted if there would be any Indians at all in the United States at the present day but for the missionary enterprises of the Churches.

Here also began those efforts on behalf of the salvation of the negro which have been the peculiar glory of the American Churches. American Christianity is the Philip among the national evangelists, for more Africans have been brought to Christ by the American Churches—especially by those laboring in the Southern States—than by all the other Churches of the world combined.

7. The cause of education was greatly promoted by the great awakening. It improved

the religious spirit and tone of existing institutions of learning and gave rise to new ones.

This was not a novel or unnatural effect. In the hundred years following the labors of Wickliffe, twenty-four universities sprang up. Ritualistic Christianity may be able to get on without producing or requiring for its propagation men of learning. Evangelistic Christianity comes preaching, and both makes and needs the learning it inspires.

The necessity for evangelical preachers gave birth to Princeton University. It was the child of the revival, and Jonathan Edwards was carried to its presidency, not because he was a Presbyterian, but because he was an evangelical scholar and preacher. He was received there, Puritan though he was, as Gilbert Tennent, the Presbyterian, was warmly welcomed to the Congregational pulpits of New England.

Dartmouth College, the *Alma Mater* of the great Daniel Webster, was also the direct product of the great awakening. Its founding was on this wise: Among the Mohegan Indians converted in 1741 was Samson Occum, then seventeen years of age. In December, 1743, Rev. Eleazar Wheelock, an active worker in the revival, received him into his home at Lebanon,

Conn., and taught him for several years. In 1848 this godly preacher and teacher determined to commence a school for the education of Indian preachers. Joshua Moor, a farmer in Mansfield, who had been affected by the revival, gave the first donation for the founding of the school, and it was therefore at first called "Moor's Charity School." The influence of the revival brought many Indian pupils to the school, and in 1766 Rev. Nathaniel Whittaker and Samson Occum went to England to solicit funds for the institution. Whitefield aided them. Occum, the Indian preacher, attracted unusual attention. A large sum of money was obtained, Lord Dartmouth giving the most. He was a convert of the Wesleyan revival, and of him Cowper sang:

"We boast some rich ones whom the gospel message sways,
And one who wears a coronet and prays."

His donation suggested the new name given to the institution when it was removed to Hanover. Founded by the influence of the revival, its early history was marked by a series of remarkable revivals extending through several years.

The faculties of Harvard and Yale had sharp

controversies with Whitefield; but for all that they participated in the fruits of the continental revival, and both instructors and pupils were greatly blessed by its benign influence.

8. The great awakening wove new bonds of affection between the British Isles and the American Colonies. Whitefield came to America from the "Holy Club" of the Wesleys at Oxford, and just after he had sounded in the open air the first notes of the great revival in England, which changed so greatly the whole face of civilization in both the Old and the New Worlds. In seven successive visits to the New World he brought to the colonies revival influences and carried back stimulating accounts of the work of grace in America which fired afresh the zeal of the revivalists in the British Isles. He was a century and more before Finney and Nettleton, and Moody and Sankey, the creator of a line of religious communication and fellowship between Great Britain and the United States, which from that time until the present has been an increasingly potential factor in unifying the Anglo-Saxon peoples of the earth. This was highly important then when the revolutionary influences which culminated in the War of Independence were gathering

force and taking form. It was necessary that the colonies should be independent, but it was equally necessary that they should not be thrown off so far from the mother country as to fall under the influences of atheistic and revolutionary France—a dreadful peril that was barely escaped, and which would not have been escaped at all if the great awakening in America and the Wesleyan revival in the British Isles had not intervened. Those seasons of grace were godsends truly!

9. This great revival of continental extent regenerated and unified the colonies, thus preparing the way for a political union of Christian States. The land was blessed with a moral revolution of the most beneficent sort. The colonies were, so to speak, born again. They respected themselves and loved God and each other as never before. And Whitefield, "moving up and down the Atlantic Coast as a shuttle, wove together the sentiments of the thirteen colonies, and made union possible by creating a national spirit."

V.

THE WESLEYAN REVIVAL.

The Methodist movement is the starting point of our modern religious polity, and the field preaching of Wesley and Whitefield is the event whence the religious epoch now current must date its commencement.—*Isaac Taylor.*

The Methodist movement has molded the spiritual character of the English-speaking Protestantism of the world.—*Dean Stanley.*

Although the career of the elder Pitt, and the splendid victories by land and sea that were won during his ministry, form unquestionably the most dazzling episodes in the reign of George II., they must yield, I think, in real importance to that religious revolution which shortly before had been begun in England by the preaching of the Wesleys and Whitefield. The creation of a large, powerful, and active sect, extending over both hemispheres and numbering many millions of souls, was but one of its consequences. It also exercised a profound and lasting influence upon the spirit of the Established Church, upon the amount and distribution of the moral forces of the nation, and even upon the course of its political history.—*Lecky, in "England in the Eighteenth Century."*

No Church in the country [the United States] has so successfully engaged in the cause of education as the Methodist Church.—*Edward Everett.*

V.

THE WESLEYAN REVIVAL.

Although the Wesleyan revival began in England, its influence speedily reached America. From amid its early fires came Whitefield at the first, and it is a remarkable fact that when he was on the sea, headed for Charleston, S. C., making his last voyage to the Western world, Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor, the first preachers sent by Wesley to America, were sailing over the same waves bound for the port of Philadelphia, Pa. Other Methodists had preceded them years before, and many others were destined to come after them.

As John Wesley was sailing away from Savannah, Ga., January 22, 1738, after his brief and unsatisfactory career in the infant colony, he wrote in his journal: "I took leave of America, though, if it please God, not forever." He never returned in person, but in the coming of his followers he was now returning in spirit, and was beginning to affect the colonies as he little dreamed when he departed.

Excepting Whitefield, the first fruits of the

Wesleyan revival which reached America were from Ireland, and they illustrate how much religious good came to the colonies from the revivals and persecutions in Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The bigotry of Louis XIV. drove many Protestants of the Lower Rhine—the Palatinate—to take refuge in other lands. Over a hundred families of the exiles settled in Limerick, Ireland. In 1752 John Wesley preached in one of the villages occupied by these banished people. A society was organized among them, and one of the members of it was Philip Embury, a carpenter, converted when Wesley preached there, and who became a local preacher in it. From that colony of the Palatines in Ireland came a goodly company to New York in 1760, and among them were this Philip Embury, Paul Heck and his wife, Barbara Heck, and other Methodists. Through their labors, and the effective help of Captain Webb, of the British army, who was also a Wesleyan local preacher, and who was now barrack-master at Albany, a Methodist society was organized in New York and a chapel erected.

In 1758 John Wesley preached at Drumsna, County Leitrim, Ireland, and among the con-

verts was Robert Strawbridge, who also became a local preacher and emigrated to America, settling on Sam's Creek, in the backwoods of Maryland, about the year 1760. He preached, gathered a society of converts, and built a log meetinghouse twenty-two feet square—the first Methodist church building in America. After these Irish emigrants Wesley sent his first preachers to be shepherds of the flock in the wilderness.

To the society of Embury and the other Methodists in New York, Boardman and Pilmoor were sent by the Methodist Conference, assembled at Leeds August 3, 1769. But before they came, by at least two months, Robert Williams, the first itinerant Methodist preacher in the New World, came at his own charges and on his own motion. He came not by help of the Conference, nor by its authority, but rather by Wesley's permission. He had probably known Strawbridge in Ireland, for he had served a circuit in Ireland which included within its bounds Sligo, where Strawbridge lived and labored as a local preacher for a season. He went southward, and became at a later date the apostle of Methodism to Virginia and North Carolina. He was also the spiritual father of

Jesse Lee, by whom Methodism was subsequently planted in New England.

During the same year (1769) came also John King, another Methodist preacher who reached America before Boardman and Pilmoor arrived. He was a strong character and had studied at Oxford and in the medical college at London. He was converted under Wesley's ministry, and, being disinherited by his father on account of his embracing the evangelical faith, he emigrated to America, and preached his first sermon in the "potter's field" at Philadelphia. He was a widely useful man, and by his efforts Methodism was greatly promoted in the colonies.

These were the pioneers of the Wesleyan movement in America, and they increased rapidly in both numbers and influence, immigration and evangelization augmenting their ranks. By them the religious forces of America were quickened and multiplied. They drew after them devout souls from the Wesleyan centers in the British Isles, and they made converts among their ungodly neighbors around them. Through them the Wesleyan revival was thus replenishing the stock of pious souls in the land during the last half of the eighteenth cen-

tury when the waves of the great awakening were receding, as it had also given Whitefield to rekindle the dying flames of the revivals of Edwards and the Tennents in 1740. By the year 1773—four years after the landing of the first preachers sent out by the Conference—the Methodists had increased to 1,160 members. By 1784, notwithstanding the War of Independence with all its hindrances, and in spite of ecclesiastical opposition to their Arminian creed, they numbered in the colonies 14,983.

Great and valuable as was this direct contribution of the Wesleyan revival to the moral and religious forces of America, it was bringing to pass about this time social and political results in the British Isles that have indirectly affected the history of the Great Republic in a far more influential manner. It was reinvigorating the moral life of the masses in Great Britain, thereby making possible political reformations and national victories which determined the boundaries of the British colonies in America, and foreordained the geographical limits of the United States when as yet the nation was unborn. All the great achievements of American Methodism, wrought during the last century, have not more powerfully influenced the destiny

of their country than the triumphs of faith which their Wesleyan forefathers were winning at this time in the United Kingdom. Humanly speaking, it appears that but for the Wesleyan revival the Great Republic, such as it is, never could have been at all.

In attributing to the Wesleyan revival so far-reaching an influence, it is not to be understood that religious movements outside the Wesleyan body had no part in the regeneration of the British nation at this time. The Presbyterians in Scotland and the north of Ireland, Howell Harris and others among the Welsh, together with a noble company of the regular clergy in the Church of England, rendered notable service, and contributed much to the national revival upon which the welfare of the Anglo-Saxon peoples and the future history of the world, and especially the destiny of America, now turned. But the Wesleyan revival so overshadowed all other similar movements of the period, and contributed so immediately to their birth and growth, that for the purposes of this treatise all of them may be discussed as one, under the general name of the "Wesleyan Revival." The term is used to mark a religious movement of national proportions and multi-

form phases, rather than to glorify the deeds of any particular party.

The British nation was saved from destruction by this national revival, and its colonial dependencies shared in the same salvation, reaping benefits in the end which were even greater than those which accrued to the mother country.

We have seen how national greatness and strength depend on religious faith and life. These firmest supports of civil government and national prosperity had fallen into decay throughout the British dominions when the Wesleyan revival began. English deism and French infidelity had destroyed the faith and corrupted the morals of the upper classes, and the lower orders of society were sodden in vice and ignorance. The ministry in both the Established and the Dissenting bodies were lax in doctrine, remiss in their duties, and irregular in their lives. There was such a prostration of the vital energies of the nation as invited dangers from without and engendered disorders within.

Bishop Gibson, in a pastoral letter issued in 1728, said: "They who live in these great cities [London and Westminster], or have had frequent recourse to them, and have had any con-

cern for religion, must have observed, to their grief, that profaneness and impiety are grown bold and open; that a new sort of vice of a very horrible nature, and almost unknown before in these parts of the world, was springing up and gaining ground among us, if it had not been checked by the seasonable care of the civil administration; that in some late writings public stews have been openly vindicated and public vices recommended to the protection of the government as public benefits; that great pains have been taken to make men easy in their vices, and deliver them from the restraints of conscience by undermining all religion and promoting atheism and infidelity."

Archbishop Secker declared in 1738 (ten years after the foregoing deliverance of Bishop Gibson) that "an open and professed disregard to religion is become, through a variety of unhappy causes, the distinguishing character of the present age; this evil has grown to a great height in the metropolis of the nation; is daily spreading through every part of it; and, bad in itself as can be, must of necessity bring in all others after it. Indeed, it hath already brought in such dissoluteness and contempt of principle in the higher part of the world, and such profligate

intemperance and fearlessness of committing crimes in the lower, as must, if this torrent of impiety stop not, become absolutely fatal."

The celebrated Blackstone had the curiosity to go from church to church and hear every notable clergyman in London, and he reported that he did not hear a single discourse which had more Christianity in it than the writings of Cicero, and that it would have been impossible for him to discover from what he heard whether the preacher were a follower of Confucius, of Mahomet, or of Christ.

Bishop Ryle, of Liverpool, says: "From the year 1700 till about the era of the French Revolution, England seemed barren of all that is really good. How such a thing could have arisen in a land of free Bibles and professing Protestantism is almost past comprehension. Christianity seemed to lie as one dead, insomuch that you might have said: 'She is dead.' Morality, however much exalted in the pulpits, was thoroughly trampled under foot in the streets. There was darkness in high places and darkness in low places—darkness in the court, the camp, the Parliament, and the bar—darkness in country and darkness in town—darkness among rich and darkness among poor—a gross, thick re-

ligious and moral darkness—a darkness that might be felt."

Isaac Taylor affirms that "the people of England had lapsed into heathenism, or a state scarcely to be distinguished from it, when Wesley appeared."

It is incredible that all these contemporary witnesses and later students of that period in British history have conspired to paint the picture in darker colors than the facts justify; and if half they say is true, the life of the nation was threatened by the conditions which they portray. And it was thus menaced from within when its foreign perils were greatest.

Amid such conditions the ministry and methods of Horace Walpole were most natural and inevitable. All the briberies and nameless corruptions of that ministry, its political cynicism and sneering unbelief in all high sentiments, were the exact exponents of the moral life of the nation which called it into power and retained it so long in office. Had such a ministry continued to rule in England, the contest with France would certainly have resulted very differently, and it is equally certain that Walpole's party would have continued in place if the masses of the people had not been elevated

and inspired by the national revival. The appeals of Pitt would have fallen unheeded upon the ears of such a constituency as followed Walpole, and his achievements during the period of the Seven Years' War would have been impossible at such a time as Bishop Ryle describes. "The Great Commoner" was made possible by the redemption of the great common people. John Richard Green, in his "History of the English People," truly remarks: "Rant about ministerial corruption would have fallen flat on the public ear had not new moral forces, a new sense of social virtue, a new sense of religion, been stirring, however blindly, in the minds of Englishmen."

After reciting the details of moral decay and political corruption which marked the closing years of Walpole's ministry, the philosophic historian just mentioned tells how the new and better era dawned on this wise: "In spite, however, of scenes such as this, England remained at heart religious. In the middle class the old Puritan spirit lived on unchanged, and it was from this class that a religious revival burst forth at the close of Walpole's administration, which changed after a time the whole tone of English society. The Church was restored to

life and activity. Religion carried to the hearts of the people a fresh spirit of moral zeal, while it purified our literature and our manners. A new philanthropy reformed our prisons, infused clemency and wisdom into our penal laws, abolished the slave trade, and gave the first impulse to popular education. The revival began in a small knot of Oxford students, whose revolt against the religious deadness of their times showed itself in ascetic observances, an enthusiastic devotion, and a methodical regularity of life which gained them the nickname of 'Methodists.' Three figures detached themselves from the group as soon as, on its transfer to London in 1738, it attracted public attention by the fervor and even extravagance of its piety; and each found his special work in the task to which the instinct of the new movement led it from the first, that of carrying religion and morality to the vast masses of population which lay concentrated in the towns, or around the mines and collieries of Cornwall and the North. Whitefield, a servitor of Pembroke College, was, above all, the preacher of the revival. Speech was governing English politics; and the religious power of speech was shown when a dread of 'enthusiasm' closed against the new apostles the

pulpits of the Established Church, and forced them to preach in the fields. Their voice was soon heard in the wildest and most barbarous corners of the land, among the bleak moors of Northumberland, or in the dens of London, or in the long galleries where in the pauses of his labor the Cornish miner listens to the sobbing of the sea. . . . All the phenomena of strong spiritual excitement, so familiar now, but at that time strange and unknown, followed on their sermons; and the terrible sense of a conviction of sin, a new dread of hell, a new hope of heaven, took forms at once grotesque and sublime. Charles Wesley, a Christ Church student, came to add sweetness to this sudden and startling light. He was the sweet singer of the movement. His hymns expressed the fiery conviction of its converts in lines so chaste and beautiful that its more extravagant features disappeared. The wild throes of hysteric enthusiasm passed into a passion for hymn-singing, and a new musical impulse was aroused in the people which gradually changed the face of public devotion throughout England. But it was his elder brother, John Wesley, who embodied in himself not this or that side of the new movement, but the movement itself. . . . In

power as a preacher he stood next to Whitefield; as a hymn writer he stood second to his brother Charles. But while combining in some degree the excellence of either, he possessed qualities in which both were utterly deficient: an indefatigable industry, a cool judgment, a command over others, a faculty of organization, a singular union of patience and moderation with an imperious ambition, which marked him as a ruler of men. He had, besides, a learning and skill in writing which no other of the Methodists possessed; he was older than any of his colleagues at the start of the movement, and he outlived them all. His life, indeed, almost covers the century, and the Methodist body had passed through every phase of its history before he sank into the grave at the age of eighty-eight. His powers were bent to the building up of a great religious society which might give to the new enthusiasm a lasting and practical form. The Methodists were grouped into classes, gathered at love feasts, purified by the expulsion of unworthy members, and furnished with an alternation of settled ministers and wandering preachers; while the whole body was placed under the absolute government of a Conference of ministers. But so long as he lived, the direction

of the new religious society remained with Wesley alone. 'If by arbitrary power,' he replied with a charming simplicity to objectors, 'you mean a power which I exercise without any colleague therein, this is certainly true, but I see no hurt in it.' The great body which he thus founded numbered a hundred thousand members at his death, and now counts its members in England and America by millions."

No apology is necessary for the length of this quotation from the able treatise of this scholarly and impartial historian. His vivid presentation of the matter, the writer of these pages cannot hope to excel, and the estimate thus placed upon the Wesleyan revival by a priest of the Church of England will be exempt from all suspicion of bias or exaggeration.

But if any persist in considering this estimate extravagant, let them hear what Dr. W. H. Fitchett has to say upon the same subject in his interesting treatise entitled "How England Saved Europe." He says: "Great Britain was invigorated by the great religious movement of which Wesley and Whitefield were the leaders. That movement was practically a new birth of Puritanism, spiritualized and ennobled, purged of its gloom, of its fierce political leaven, of its

narrowness. It is not easy to realize how it might have affected English history, if in the middle of the eighteenth century, with its drowsy Church, its enervated morals, its laxity of public life, there had arisen, instead of a reformer like Wesley, an English Voltaire, distilling the gall of his skepticism, the acid of his bitter wit into the life of England. In that case the reign of terror in Paris might have been rivaled by one as fierce and bloody in London. Wesley, to the zeal of an apostle and the spiritual ardor of a saint, added the patriotism of an Englishman, and something at least of the intellectual vision of a statesman. And he did something more than crystallize into happy and enduring form the great religious body that bears his name. He affected for good the whole tone of English society. The religious revival of that period had the office of the healthful salt in the national blood. It purified domestic life. It wove bonds of quick and generous sympathy betwixt all classes. It put a more robust fiber into the national character. It gave a new tenderness to charity, a nobler daring to philanthropy, a loftier authority to morals, as well as a new grace to religion. So it helped to cleanse the national life. Among the elements of strength to

Great Britain at the beginning of the struggle with revolutionary France is surely to be reckoned the invigoration bred of a revived faith in religion."

If the thesis that "England Saved Europe" be sound, and if among the elements of strength which enabled Great Britain to accomplish so great a salvation must be reckoned the revival, the importance of the Wesleyan movement is not overstated when it is affirmed that it contributed to the fixing of the geographical boundaries of the British Colonies in America, and thus helped to shape in the most influential way the future of the United States.

While the field of its operations was across the sea, it really affected the American Colonies in its ultimate effects more than did its coetaneous movement, the great awakening, on this side the water. It differed greatly from that movement under Edwards, the Tennents, and Whitefield, and by reason of those differences it blessed the American Republic, at its birth and during the formative period of its history as an independent nation, as it could not have done otherwise. This will appear upon consideration of the points of difference between the two revival movements, and such consideration will

also serve to set before us more distinctly the effect of the Wesleyan revival on the origin and development of the Great Republic.

First, let it be observed that they differed in their doctrinal basis. The great awakening was born in Calvinistic Churches and was carried on by Calvinistic preachers. The Wesleyan revival, while embracing in its sweep many Calvinistic influences and individuals, was overwhelmingly Arminian. This was fortunate for England at such a time, and therefore best for America in the end. An all-embracing gospel chased away despair from the hopeless lower classes, and emphasized the equality of every man before God. Only such a gospel could have lifted the masses of Britain's common people to the level of life and hope needed for the critical period through which the nation was passing. To the freedom and fullness of an Arminian creed was added an emphasis on the doctrine of the witness of the Spirit and Christian assurance such as was never heard in England before, nor found so clearly and fully set forth in the sermons of Whitefield, Edwards, and the Tennents even. This also, in the very nature of the truth involved, inevitably gave a wholesome impulse to the spirit of liberty which was then ris-

ing in the nation. Ever since the Wesleyan revival there has been a steady and remarkable rise in the appraisement put on the value of a man as a man throughout the English-speaking world, and this rising valuation has been made without serious shock to the social system. The prevalence of the doctrines of experimental religion has thus fed the spirit of freedom without firing the heart of fanaticism. One who knows by the assurance of the witnessing Spirit that he is born of God knows he must be free, and yet he asserts his freedom with the self-respecting meekness of faith, and not with the fiery vindictiveness of wounded pride. To these doctrines of evangelical faith as held by his evangelistic contemporaries, Wesley added the doctrine of Christian perfection—a "glorious hope" that stirred the noblest aspirations of the human breast. He brought to the English nation the perfect gospel for the "unprivileged." There was no room for the intervention of a priestly caste in a system that emphasized justification by faith, the new birth, and the witness of the Spirit. There was no place for even privileged evangelicals when an unconditional election was denied. And there was no occasion for the most forlorn soul to despair when the way of

the highest holiness was thrown wide open to every one. Wesley might have justly defined his commission to his people in the language of Paul to the Colossians: "Whereof I am made a minister, according to the dispensation of God which is given to me for you, to fulfill the word of God; even the mystery which hath been hid from ages and from generations, but now is made manifest to his saints: to whom God would make known what is the riches of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles; which is Christ in you, the hope of glory: whom we preach, warning *every* man and teaching *every* man in *all wisdom;* that we may present *every* man *perfect* in Christ Jesus." This is the fullness of the gospel, which leaves nothing of grace inexperienced, and which in the depths of its earthly experience discovers foretastes of heavenly glory. It was the gospel exactly suited to the needs of Great Britain and America then, and it is the gospel which is ample for the world's want for all time. It cannot be increased by the addition of a dogma, for it leaves nothing to be desired when it throws open the gates of life to every soul, and promises the fullness of life to all who will enter. From it nothing can be subtracted without diminish-

ing the common salvation and dimming some dear hope of mankind. Wesley, not Whitefield, was the leader for such a movement. Whitefield and the Calvinistic evangelicals did much to help it on, but they could not direct it without marring it. Wesley, as Green truly says, was its very "embodiment."

A second point of difference between the Wesleyan revival and the great awakening arose from the first. The Wesleyan doctrines required new songs for their expression, and the joyous Christian experience to which they gave rise outran the sad psalmody of the former days. The great awakening demanded no such expression and brought forth no hymns, while the Wesleyan revival came with a burst of song such as had not been heard for ages. In this particular it marked a new era in Christian history. Henceforth a new type of music prevails in the evangelical Churches. Robert Southey, the poet laureate, said of the Wesleyan hymns: "No poems have been so treasured in the memory, or so frequently quoted on a deathbed." James Martineau, the great Unitarian divine, said: "After the Scriptures, the Wesleyan Hymn Book appears to me the greatest instrument of popular religious culture that Christendom has

ever produced." Handel found in the Wesleyan hymns poetry worthy of his own lofty genius, and he set to music those beginning, "Sinners, obey the gospel word!" "O Love divine, how sweet thou art!" and "Rejoice, the Lord is King." The great composer Giardini also supplied tunes for some of them. Such hymns could spring from no doctrines or experiences less comprehensive and fervent than the Wesleyan faith. The biographer of Watts acknowledges "the faulty versification and inelegant construction of some of his hymns, which have been pointed out as their principal defects;" and adds, "They would have never occurred had they been written under the same circumstances as those of his Arminian successor."

The revival made the hymns, and the hymns in turn deepened and widened the revival. Nor could the masses of the people have been reached and saved otherwise. If the writing of a nation's songs outranks in influence the making of its laws, it is impossible to overstate the effect of the Wesleyan hymns on the life of the British nation at this time.

The music of the evangelical Churches henceforth passed out of the hands of privileged and pretentious classes called choirs, and all the peo-

ple fell to singing with rapturous melodies the praise of God. Priestcraft and choral monopolies belong to the same order of things, and the farther Christianity gets away from both, the farther it is from paganism, and the closer it is to the common people and to the favor of Him whom the "common people heard gladly." It was a great day for the religion of the masses and the salvation of the world when the Wesleys set the Anglo-Saxon nations to singing the gospel of a full salvation.

In the third place, the great awakening produced no new organization. It was best that it should not have done so. But it was not so with the Wesleyan revival. It seems to be a strange thing that Wesley, who never was in America, except for a brief space before the great revival began, should have organized an American Church, which continues to this day; while Whitefield, who spent so much time and toil in the New World, should have left no organized following in it. The great evangelist seems to have felt it keenly. In one place he says: "My brother Wesley acted wisely. The souls that were awakened under his ministry, he joined in a class, and thus preserved the fruits of his labor. This I neglected, and my people

are as a rope of sand." But the explanation of the case lies deeper than Wesley's organization and Whitefield's neglect to organize. Such things rest on deeper reasons than the foresight of one man and the blundering of another. They arise naturally under the operation of profound spiritual laws of demand and supply. Whitefield's Calvinistic converts could find comfortable Church homes in any of several communions, but there was no place for Wesley's Arminians that was perfectly suited to their needs. The law of life is "to every seed its own body," and Wesley himself was not able to forestall the operation of this law, and thereby prevent his followers from leaving the Established Church, which was indeed the friendliest home for them, and yet not friendly enough. While he lived, he was able to postpone separation in England, although he provided for the organization of a new Church in America and ordained men to administer the sacraments in Scotland. At last the societies in England separated also—a result which was inevitable by the very nature of the life within them. The new wine could not be long kept in the old bottles.

Lastly, the Wesleyan revival continued longer, and its visible influence has been far more

enduring, than the great awakening. After about 1750, the great awakening went on with a greatly diminished current; but the Wesleyan revival continued, with scarcely an interruption or subtraction from its power, for above fifty years, and in some sense it may be claimed with justice that it is still going on. Martin Luther said that for sixteen hundred years the longest revival lasted only through a single generation, but the Wesleyan revival has never ceased. It has done much to create an evangelistic type of Christian effort that has at length become the dominant type among the Churches of the Anglo-Saxon peoples, and by which there have been almost continuous revivals in these lands for above one hundred and fifty years. Its effect has also been to shorten the intervals between those great general movements of revival power which have from the first marked the history of Christianity.

These consequences of the Wesleyan revival are attributable in part to the long life and activity of John Wesley, the "embodiment" and incarnation of the spirit of the movement. His wisdom and foresight preserved its character and directed its course under Divine Providence until March, 1791, when he fell on sleep, whis-

pering: "The best of all is, God is with us." But more than to the length of his life, the power and persistence of the revival were due to the doctrines preached, the songs sung, and the organization which he fashioned and operated with such skill. In these things was found the stored force which revolutionized the British nation, passed over the seas, penetrated the American Colonies, and changed the current of Anglo-Saxon history. With the rapidity of a revolution and the renovating power of a celestial springtime, it passed over the United Kingdom and its dependencies. Wesley himself was amazed at the magnitude of the work. When his followers numbered no more than 30,000 souls he sang:

"O the fathomless love that hath deigned to approve
And prosper the work of my hands!
With my pastoral crook I went over the brook,
And, behold, I am spread into bands.

Who, I ask in amaze, hath gotten me these?
And inquire from what quarter they came;
My full heart replies, 'They are born from the skies,'
And gives glory to God and the Lamb."

In the moderation of carefully considered prose he wrote later: "The revival of religion has spread to such a degree as neither we nor our fathers had known. How *extensive* has it

been! There is scarce a considerable town in the kingdom where some have not been made witnesses of it. It has spread to every age and sex, to most orders and degrees of men; and even to abundance of those who, in time past, were accounted monsters of wickedness. Consider the *swiftness* as well as the extent of it. In what age has such a number of sinners been recovered, in so short a time, from the error of their ways? When has true religion, I will not say since the Reformation, but since the time of Constantine the Great, made so large a progress in any nation, within so small a space? I believe hardly can ancient or modern history afford a parallel instance. We may likewise observe the *depth* of the work so extensively and swiftly wrought. Multitudes have been thoroughly convinced of sin; and shortly after, so filled with joy and love, that whether they were in the body, or out of the body, they could hardly tell; and in the power of this love they have trampled under foot whatever the world accounts either terrible or desirable, having evidenced in the severest trials an invariable and tender good will to mankind and all the fruits of holiness. Now so deep a repentance, so strong a faith, so fervent a love, so unblemished

holiness wrought in so many persons in so short a time the world has not seen for ages." Having thus described the work, he proceeds in the same passage to vindicate it (and he does it with complete success) against any possible charges of impurity in doctrine, superstition, irrational enthusiasm, bigotry, or bitter zeal.

When he died his followers who were enrolled in the Wesleyan organization numbered in England seventy-one thousand, and in America forty-eight thousand. And be it remembered that the entire population on both sides of the Atlantic did not exceed fifteen million souls. The growth of the Wesleyan body had been gathered from a comparatively sparse population, and during a period when the nation was almost continuously engaged in war. But the Wesleyan organization did not hold all the fruits nor measure all the power of the Wesleyan revival. As John Richard Green forcibly says: "The Methodists themselves were the least result of the Methodist revival." He explains and amplifies his statement as follows: "Its action upon the Church broke the lethargy of the clergy; and the 'Evangelical' movement, which found representatives like Newton and Cecil within the pale of the Establishment,

made the fox-hunting parson and the absentee rector at last impossible. In Walpole's day the English clergy were the idlest and most lifeless in the world. In our own time no body of religious ministers surpasses them in piety, in philanthropic energy, or in popular regard. In the nation at large appeared a new moral enthusiasm which, rigid and pedantic as it often seemed, was still healthy in its social tone, and whose power was seen in the disappearance of the profligacy which had disgraced the upper classes, and the foulness which had infested literature, ever since the Restoration. A yet nobler result of the religious revival was the steady attempt, which has never ceased from that day to this, to remedy the guilt, the ignorance, the physical suffering, the social degradation of the profligate and the poor. It was not till the Wesleyan impulse had done its work that this philanthropic impulse began."

It affected all classes from highest to lowest, the rich and poor, the learned and the unlettered, the old and the young. While reaching the peasant at the plow and the miner in the cave, it made converts of such titled people as Lady Huntingdon, Lady Mary Hastings, and Lord Dartmouth. Even Chesterfield and Bol-

ingbroke were among the hearers of the revivalists. It extended its influence to the literary classes, saving some and affecting many whom it could not save. Cowper, the greatest English poet of the closing years of the eighteenth century, devoted his gentle spirit and graceful style to its service. Robert Southey, who was born while the revival was at its height, who was influenced in his childhood by Wesley, and who knew well the power of the movement among men of letters, declared a generation later: "I consider Wesley the most influential mind of the last century—the man who will have produced the greatest effect centuries or perhaps millenniums hence, if the present race of men should continue so long." With this estimate of Wesley by Southey agrees the thoughtful essayist, Birrell, who affirms: "Wesley was himself the greatest force of the eighteenth century in England. No man lived nearer the center than John Wesley; neither Pitt nor Clive, neither Mansfield nor Johnson. No single figure influenced so many minds; no single voice touched so many hearts; no other man did such a life work for England."

Of course the widest and deepest influence of the Wesleyan revival was exerted upon the

middle and lower classes of the nation—the classes who in all lands and in all times give distinctive character to a nation and who are most accessible to spiritual things. Among these classes two should have special mention, because of the influential part they bore in shaping the destiny of the nation just at that time—viz., the army, and the miners and artisans.

No movement whatsoever can greatly affect for any considerable time the "common people" of any country without soon manifesting itself in the army, for the common people fight the world's battles. Such was the case with the work of Wesley. The camp and the field, it is true, are not favorable to devotion or piety, but, despite all the hindrances to religion in military life, the Wesleyan revival quickly penetrated the army and followed it to Flanders and to the New World. When the "Cape Breton Expedition" sailed away from Boston in 1745 to take from the French Louisburg—"the key to Canada and the Gibraltar of America"—it went under the command of Sir William Pepperell, one of Whitefield's converts, and on its banner were the words, "*Nil desperandum; Christo duce*"—a motto given by Whitefield at the request of the

commander, to testify the great evangelist's favor and encouragement. Before its embarkation the officers desired him to preach them a sermon, which he did, and when news came of the fall of Louisburg he preached in Boston a thanksgiving sermon. Again in 1755 Sir William took up arms for his country against the French, and Whitefield in a letter to Lady Pepperell said of him: "He is gone upon a good cause, and under the conduct of the best general, even the Captain of our salvation." Thus into the army of America the influence of the revival through the preaching of Whitefield entered. And it was an equally or more active influence among the troops in Flanders. John Haime, belonging to the Queen's Regiment of Dragoons, having been converted under the ministry of the Wesleys in England, was stirred up to preach to his companions in arms, hundreds of whom were converted. The work thus begun was so conspicuous that Lecky has felt constrained to mention it in his great work, entitled, "The History of England in the Eighteenth Century." He says: "It [Wesleyanism] may be first traced in the army of Flanders in 1744, the year of the battle of Dettingen, when a small society, numbering at first three, then

twelve, and soon after more than two hundred persons, was formed among the regiments at Ghent, and Wesley has published several letters from the soldiers which throw a novel and attractive light over the campaign. One of the soldiers was accustomed to preach in the open air near the camp at Ask. His congregation often numbered more than a thousand; many of the officers attended, and he sometimes preached thirty-five times in seven days. The society had its stated hours of meeting, and commonly two whole nights in every week were passed in devotion; two small tabernacles were built in the camp near Brussels, and rooms were hired at Bruges and at Ghent. One of the leading Methodists dated his conversion from the battle of Dettingen, when the balls were raining around him, and he ended his career at Fontenoy, where he was seen by one of his companions laid across a cannon, both his legs having been taken off by a chain shot, praising God and exhorting those about him with his last breath." John Haime himself has left an account of this work even more vivid and interesting than that of Lecky. He says: "On the 1st of May, 1745, we had a full trial of our faith at Fontenoy. Some days before, one of our brethren, standing

in his tent door, broke out into raptures of joy, knowing his departure was at hand; and when he went into the field of battle declared: 'I am going to rest in the bosom of Jesus.' Indeed, this day God was pleased to prove our little flock, and to show them his mighty power. They showed such courage and boldness in the fight as made the officers as well as the soldiers amazed. When wounded, some cried out, 'I am going to my Beloved;' others, 'Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly.' When William Clements had his arm broken by a musket ball they would have carried him out of the battle, but he said: 'No, I have an arm left to hold my sword; I will not go yet.' When a second shot broke his other arm he said: 'I am as happy as I can be out of paradise.' John Evans, having both his legs taken off by a cannon ball, was laid across a cannon to die, where, as long as he could speak, he was praising God with joyful lips. For my own part, I stood the hottest fire of the enemy for about seven hours. But I told my comrades: 'The French have no ball made that will kill me this day.' After about seven hours a cannon ball killed my horse under me. An officer cried out: 'Haime, where is your God now?' I answered: 'Sir, he is

here with me, and he will bring me out of this battle.' As I was quitting the field I met one of our brethren, with a little dish in his hand, seeking water. I did not know him at first, being covered with blood. He smiled and said: 'Brother Haime, I have got a sore wound.' I asked: 'Have you got Christ in your heart?' He said: 'I have, and I have had him all this day. I have seen many good and glorious days, with much of God, but I never saw more of it than this day. Glory be to God for all his mercies!' Among the dead there was great plenty of watches and gold and silver. One asked: 'Will you not get something?' I answered: 'No; I have got Christ, I will have no plunder.'"

It is no wonder that officers and men were amazed by such exhibitions of faith and courage. It was veritably a Gideon's band fighting by faith. No such soldiers had been seen since Cromwell's Ironsides. These dauntless spirits were exemplifying the saying of Wesley: "The world may not like our Methodists and evangelical people, but the world cannot deny they die well." By valor invincible in death they were commanding the admiration and inspiring the courage of all around them. Can any one who knows the value of one such regiment in a cam-

paign depreciate the worth of these men to the whole army and to the cause it represented? Without such troops, would the result have been the same? Let him affirm it who dares the derision of all thoughtful men.

But about this time England was threatened by another peril more dangerous and menacing than the armies of France. A new era dawned when Brindley joined Manchester with Liverpool, in 1767, by a canal. The success of the experiment led to the rapid introduction of water carriage, and Great Britain was speedily traversed in every direction by three thousand miles of navigable canals. This meant much in an almost roadless land where for lack of transportation people might famish for bread in London, while a hundred miles away farmers hoarded or wasted a surplus of grain for which they had no accessible market. Two years before Brindley's canal, Watt had transformed the steam engine from a toy to a Titan, which in the end revolutionized the industrial world. About the same time a new importance was given to the coal which underlaid the surface of England. The immense stores of iron, which in the northern counties lay side by side with the coal, remained unworked because it was

thought that it could be smelted with wood only, and that fuel was all too scarce. Now was discovered a process to smelt iron with coal, and the iron industry was changed as by magic. This development of coal and iron made the invention of Watt a thousandfold more effective in supplying the place of manual labor in the manufactures. Then, in 1764, came the spinning jenny of Hargreaves, the weaver, followed quickly in 1768 by the spinning machine of Arkwright, the barber. In 1776 was invented the spinning mule of Crompton, the weaver, and speedily after it came the power loom. It was as if all the hidden forces of nature had flocked to the aid of Great Britain during the terrible years of her struggle with France, and were lifting her into the commanding position of the greatest commercial power of the world. But the new power brought a fearful peril. Great manufacturing centers sprang instantly into being. Workingmen agglomerated in the towns, and labor became nomadic in habit and irritable in temper. Men unused to the feverish excitement and the fearful temptations of such a situation were massed together where all the seductions to vice were multiplied and all the inspirations of virtue were diminished. Wealth

grew, but the inequalities of its distribution were increased far more rapidly. The contrast between extravagant luxury and abject want was made more common and glaring than ever before. Wealthy employers lived at a distance, geographically and socially, from their less fortunate employees, and all the bonds of sympathy between class and class were weakened, while across the English Channel were heard the mutterings of the popular discontent in France which eventually burst out in the Reign of Terror. What would have been the result if these conjunctions of events and inflammatory conditions had rent the nation in twain when the destinies of America—and the welfare of the world—turned on the issue of the conflict with France? The French held all the territory of the Mississippi and Ohio valleys in North America—all west of the Alleghanies. The future of India and Canada was also involved in the mighty contest. Adopting the language of Lecky, we may say of this perilous period: "It is peculiarly fortunate that it should have been preceded by a religious revival which opened a new spring of moral and religious energy among the poor, and at the same time gave a powerful impulse to the philanthropy of the rich." That healed the

breach, solidified the nation, and saved the day. When penitential tears flowing from the eyes of the Cornish miners made white furrows down their grimy faces, while Whitefield and the Wesleys preached to them, England was being saved from floods of grief and distress. Sydney Smith sneeringly said of the early Methodists, "All mines and subterranean places belong to them;" and it is well that it was so, or soon there would have been nothing above ground for anybody else to care for. Other influences, of course, conspired to save the nation, but without the Wesleyan revival they would have been insufficient in themselves alone. The England of a Walpole's day could not have passed safely such a trying crisis.

Closely akin to the danger from the rising industrialism were the influences of French infidelity which were being imported into the land along with the new and popular theories of liberty with which France was then filled. Edmund Burke profoundly observed that "whenever a separation is made between liberty and justice neither is safe," and this separation the French were making. They clamored for a liberty that neither feared God nor regarded man. Against this danger all discerning men

are now agreed that the Wesleyan revival interposed an impassable barrier. Mr. Lecky, who is notoriously free from any evangelical sentiments or sympathy, analyzes the situation in his work previously quoted. Speaking of the French Revolution, he says: "Its chief characteristics were a hatred of all constituted authority, an insatiable appetite for change, a habit of regarding rebellion as the normal as well as the noblest form of political self-sacrifice, a disdain for all compromise, a contempt for all tradition, a desire to level all ranks and subvert all establishments, a determination to seek progress not by the slow and cautious amelioration of existing institutions, but by sudden, violent, and revolutionary change. Religion, property, civil authority, and domestic life were all assailed, and doctrines incompatible with the very existence of government were embraced by multitudes with the fervor of a religion. England, on the whole, escaped the contagion. Many causes conspired to save her, but among them a prominent place must, I believe, be given to the new and vehement religious enthusiasm which was at that very time passing through the middle and lower classes of the people, which had enlisted in its service a large

proportion of the wilder and more impetuous reformers, and which recoiled with horror from the antichristian tenets that were associated with the Revolution in France."

Against this poisonous infidelity and perilous radicalism, which were overcome by the Wesleyan revival, what effective opposition would have been made by the religion which Archbishop Secker described and the preaching which Blackstone heard? Would not such Christianity as they tell us existed in England before the revival came have fallen in with the frenzy of the French and have made in Great Britain a deeper desolation and a more direful revolution than befell her Gallic neighbor? And if such a revolution had occurred in England, what would have been the fate of America?

But the revival came, and instead of an era of destructive revolution there was inaugurated by it an era of productive philanthropy, during which the worst wounds of the social system have been soothed and the tenderest ministries of brotherly kindness have been put forth. Men found their brother, man, in finding again their Father, God. The revival gave rise to all sorts of benevolent efforts and enterprises, many of which continue in increased power to this day.

To its inspiration may be traced the labors of John Howard in his great work of prison reform.

The Sunday school movement, inaugurated by Robert Raikes, was suggested to him by a Methodist woman, Sophia Cook, who marched with him at the head of his troop of ragged children the first Sunday they were taken to the parish church. Another Methodist woman, Hannah Ball, really had at High Wycombe a Sunday school fourteen years in advance of Raikes's first school at Gloucester; and Wesley, in his parish of Christ Church, Savannah, Ga., had a Sunday school fifty years before the work of Raikes began. Francis Asbury organized a Sunday school in Hanover County, Va., in 1786. The vital germ of the Sunday school was in the very nature of the Wesleyan revival, and from the revival the Sunday school movement derived its rapid success. In Wesley's Journal we find this entry: "We went on to Bolton, where I preached in the evening in one of the most elegant houses in the kingdom, and to me one of the liveliest congregations. And this I must avow, there is not such a set of singers in any one of the Methodist congregations in the three kingdoms. There cannot be, for we have near

a hundred such trebles, boys and girls, selected out of our Sunday schools, and accurately taught, as are not found together in any chapel, cathedral, or music room within the four seas. Besides the spirit with which they sing, the beauty of many of them so suits the melody that I defy any to exceed it, except the singing of the angels in our Father's house. On Sunday, at eight and at one, the house was thoroughly filled. About three I met between nine hundred and a thousand of the children belonging to our Sunday schools. I never saw such a sight before." As early as February, 1790, the Methodist Conference, held at Charleston, S. C., and presided over by Bishop Francis Asbury, took decided action and formed definite plans for the organization of a Sunday school in connection with every place of worship. By 1802 we find the "Sunday School Committee" of the Wesleyans organized in London for the promotion of the work in Great Britain. Soon all the great Protestant Churches of England and America took up the work, and the Sunday school of the twentieth century is scarcely found beyond the limits of those nations which the Wesleyan revival touched and the mission stations established by them among other nations. No such

work as that done by the modern Sunday school could have originated or survived in the seventeenth century, or in the days of Walpole's ministry in the eighteenth century.

The Wesleyan revival founded day schools and fostered popular education. We have seen how universities followed the work of Wickliffe, and how colleges came of the great awakening in America. The educational systems of Germany and Scotland are likewise traceable to the labors of Luther and Knox, and the beginning of popular education in England is found similarly in the Wesleyan era. When the revival began, education was the luxury of the rich. There were no common schools, and the universities were closed to Nonconformists. The secondary schools were all in the hands of the clergy of the Establishment. The first Methodists were forced, therefore, to let their children grow up in ignorance, put their instruction in the hands of opponents of Wesleyanism, or found schools of their own. The last course was difficult, but it was the only one they could take, and it was the only one that could have been expected reasonably of a movement which began in the preaching of evangelists so highly educated as were the Wesleys. Accordingly,

we find educational efforts put forth by them from the first. On April 2, 1739, John Wesley preached his first sermon in the open air; on May 12, of the same year, he laid the foundation of his first preaching house; and in June he undertook the foundation of Kingswood School. In the Foundry School in London, the Orphan House in Newcastle, and in Mrs. Fletcher's Orphanage at Leytonstone, other educational endeavors were made. At a later date the Woodhouse Grove School was founded, confirming, as does also all the educational work of the followers of Wesley for the past century, the declaration of an eminent Methodist authority that "it has always been understood that good schools for the literary, scientific, and religious instruction of youth were a part of the original plans of Methodism."

Cheap literature for the people was one of the first cares of Wesley and his colaborers. He wrote many books and abridged many more for his people, and published these writings and abridgments at a price which put them within the reach of the poorest people. He and Thomas Coke formed the first tract society in 1782, seventeen years before the organization of the great "Religious Tract Society" of Great Britain.

The first British Bible Society was the "Naval and Military," "organized," says Lecky, "to meet the wants of that class of converts" which glorified with faith the field of Fontenoy.

Melville Horne, who for some years was one of Wesley's itinerant preachers, and then succeeded the saintly Fletcher as Vicar of Madeley, originated the "London Missionary Society," and John Venn, the son of Henry Venn, a Methodist preacher, started the "Church Missionary Society."

It is probable that the first free dispensary the world ever saw was that which was founded by Wesley himself in connection with the old Foundry in Moorfield.

Methodism in 1785 gave birth to the "Strangers' Friend Society," an organization which pays annually from forty to fifty thousand visits to the sick poor of London.

And so it appears the revival inspired every form of philanthropic effort and religious enterprise. Nothing short of a moral revolution, aroused by supernatural power and sustained by divine aid, could have affected so universally all the people of the nation, and have produced so many institutions of benevolence. It is no wonder we find the cold, cynical Walpole, in a letter

to Sir Horace Mann, writing, "If you think of returning to England, as I hope it will be long first, you must prepare yourself with Methodism. I really believe by that time it will be necessary; this sect increases as fast almost as ever any religious nonsense did." Of course a man of his sort could not endure such a movement, and such a movement could not tolerate politicians of his corrupt class. The purified public opinion of the revival period quickly retired him once and for all, and made way for Pitt with his world-saving achievements.

And it is thus manifest that, without aiming at any political ends, the Wesleyan revival contributed much to the accomplishment of political results of the most beneficent and far-reaching character. Sir Walter Raleigh has forcibly remarked that "to change national customs and habits we must change ideas." It were better to say we must change hearts. The Wesleyan revival changed both ideas and hearts, and thereby brought to pass a political as well as a spiritual revolution—a revolution which powerfully affected the destiny of the Great Republic, and in fact the history of all mankind. From authorities which cannot be suspected of any partisan bias toward Wesleyanism, it has been

shown that this revolution, though the product of many causes, would have been impossible without the revival. The heavenly visitation, by reinvigorating the moral and religious life of the nation, by inspiring invention, quickening industrialism and saving it from revolutionary tendencies, by averting perils from within and turning back dangers from without, by its humane and enlightening institutions, raised the enfeebled England of Walpole's time to the puissant power which eventually overcame the French, thus giving North America to be the home of an Anglo-Saxon civilization, and assuring the predominance of Anglo-Saxon influence in India and "the far East." By the victory of Culloden Moor the pretensions of the Catholic "Pretender" to the throne of England were ended, and the Protestant dynasty assured beyond the power of question or competitor. By the apparently small, though really important, victory of Dettingen, by "the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle," and by the triumphs of Ascot and Quebec, England saved herself, secured her interests in India, and rescued from the possession of France Canada and the Northwest Territory, west of the Alleghanies and east of the Mississippi. This same England, growing con-

stantly more powerful, so excited the jealousy and the fears of the first Napoleon a little later that, rather than have the Louisiana territory fall into the hands of Great Britain, he sold it to the young republic for less than three cents an acre. This imperial domain thus came into the possession of the United States without the firing of a gun or the loss of a life. Its purchase eventually brought on the conflict of the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin civilizations for the possession of Texas—a conflict which resulted in extending the American Republic from ocean to ocean, and completing the evacuation of North America by the Latin forces, antagonistic to evangelical Christianity and Saxon civilization. The events at Dettingen, Aix-la-Chapelle, Quebec, and Ascot, in which this series of achievements took their rise, were not connected with the great revival by the mere association of coetaneous events; between them and it there was a causative connection found in the ennobled national life without which they would have been impossible. Even the skeptical Lecky perceives and acknowledges this connection when he says: "Although the career of the elder Pitt, and the splendid victories by land and sea that were won during his ministry,

form unquestionably the most dazzling episodes in the reign of George II., they must yield, I think, in real importance to that religious revolution which shortly before had been begun in England by the preaching of the Wesleys and Whitefield. The creation of a large, powerful, and active sect, extending over both hemispheres, and numbering many millions of souls, was but one of its consequences. It also exercised a profound and lasting influence upon the spirit of the Established Church, upon the amount and distribution of the moral forces of the nation, and even upon the course of its political history."

If the Wesleyan revival in its direct effects had been confined to the United Kingdom, and if none of its converts had migrated to the New World, it could not be justly excluded from consideration in any adequate treatment of the forces which have shaped the history of the United States. If it had not produced a great Church which has borne a conspicuous part in the moral life of the republic, it would nevertheless deserve high rank among the benign influences which have made great the American nation. But in addition to generating a saving influence in Great Britain at a mo-

ment of vital importance to the New World, it called into being American Methodism, which has been among the foremost Christian bodies of the land. As we have seen, as far back as 1766 converts of the Wesleyan revival began coming to America, such as Embury, Strawbridge, Williams, King, and Captain Webb, of the British army. It has been told also how speedily Wesley sent Boardman and Pilmoor to be shepherds of these "few sheep in the wilderness." They came in 1769, and were followed in 1771 by Asbury and Wright, the former becoming Wesley's assistant in America in 1772. In June, 1773, Thomas Rankin and George Shadford came under convoy of Captain Webb, and the former superseded Asbury for a time in the office of "assistant" to Wesley for the American work. Then in 1774 came Martin Rodda and James Dempster. Thus in less than six years eight preachers had been sent over by the mother Conference for the work in the colonies. They were abundant in labors and extraordinarily successful until the outbreak of the War of Independence. During that conflict all who did not return before it began were exposed to suspicion, being Englishmen, and so their success was hindered. By 1777

Asbury and Shadford were all that were left of the preachers who came out from England by appointment of the Wesleyan Conference, and in 1778 Shadford also returned, leaving Asbury alone with the preachers who had been made in the American societies. Nevertheless, by 1784, when, the war being ended, the American Church was organized with Asbury and Coke as its first bishops, the membership of the societies had increased to 14,983; 13,331 of whom were in the Southern States, the section of the country least affected by the great awakening. By the year 1800 the number had grown to 63,958, and 45,282 of them were in the Southern States. Thus in thirty years, eight of which were years of war and consequent demoralization, the number of American Methodists exceeded the whole number of converts in all the Churches during the great awakening, and most of them were in the Southern States, which had shared less than the Northern colonies in the blessings of the revival of Whitefield, Edwards, and the Tennents. So the Wesleyan revival was preserving and enlarging the great work of 1740.

From the year 1800 until the present time American Methodism has gone forward with

amazing strides. Born in a great revival, it has had a natural affinity for that evangelistic type of Christianity which is the characteristic form of religion in America, and has greatly promoted it. Its generous and genial theology and its itinerant system of Church government have commended it to the people of the Great Republic as, in freedom and force, they have pushed over the Western World. Dr. Robert Baird, the distinguished Presbyterian preacher, and author of the justly celebrated work, "Religion in America," declares that in his day Methodism was "the most powerful element in the religious prosperity of the United States, as well as one of the firmest pillars of our civil and religious institutions." The Methodists were first to present formal congratulations to Washington upon his election to the presidency, pledging their loyalty and devotion to the new republic; and Abraham Lincoln said Methodism furnished more recruits to the Federal army during the Civil War than came from any other Church. Jefferson Davis might have said the same of the armies of the Confederacy. And the reason is plain: the Methodists were more numerous than any other Protestant body, and they were not behind any in patriotic devotion.

They now (1904) number 6,437,461 communicants in the United States. The Methodist Churches have evangelized the Indians, and of the 8,000,000 negroes in the country, 1,729,597 are Methodists. They have German and Scandinavian Conferences among the foreigners who have emigrated to the South and the Northwest, and they have Annual Conferences on the continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa, as offshoots and parts of the work in the United States. They have penetrated South America, the West Indies, Mexico, Alaska, Hawaii, the Philippine Islands, China, Japan, Korea, and India with their mission stations.

Like the Wesleyans of Great Britain, they undertook educational work from the first, and have carried it to a great degree of success. On June 5, 1785, Bishop Asbury laid the corner stone of Cokesbury College, at Abingdon, Md., and he sought to plant similar institutions in every section of the country. Methodism was the pioneer of higher education in the great wilderness of the West, establishing a school in Kentucky, near the Ohio River, before Asbury died, and opening McKendree College, in Illinois, in 1834. The last-mentioned was the first college in all that vast prairie domain, and John

Wesley Merrill, a man bearing the name of the great Englishman, was its first president. Of the four hundred and sixty-four colleges and universities reporting to the United States Commissioner of Education in 1903, seventy-six are Methodist institutions; and of nine hundred and twenty-three secondary schools under denominational control reporting, one hundred and nine are Methodist schools. It is not the policy of American Methodism to establish parochial schools, but to give ardent support to the common schools supported by the several States —the best system of common schools in the world. How just are the words of Hon. Edward Everett: "No Church in the country has so successfully engaged in the cause of education as the Methodist Church!"

Following the example of Wesley and the Wesleyans in Great Britain, the Methodist Churches in the United States have done much for the production of a popular religious literature. The greatest publishing house in the world is the Methodist Book Concern, in New York, and it is closely followed by the similar establishments located in Cincinnati, Ohio, and Nashville, Tenn. The two great branches of Episcopal Methodism in the United States have

recently united in establishing another house of the same kind in Shanghai, China. These immense plants had their beginnings and growth in the bookselling of the early and later itinerants, who, in a zealous effort to enlighten the people, builded more wisely and grandly than they knew.

For all these things and more which have beneficially affected the Great Republic, we are indebted to the Wesleyan revival in Great Britain during the eighteenth century. While originating across the sea, it may be doubted if it has influenced the land of its birth as much as it has North America. The exodus from Egypt—the religious movement under the leadership of the great Hebrew lawgiver, Moses, in the days of Menephthah—in the course of forty years after its beginning, delivered itself upon the Canaanitish shores of the Mediterranean, overthrowing the tribal governments there, and on their ruins erecting a new spiritual commonwealth. Excepting that movement, and possibly the Lutheran Reformation, no movement has ever affected a distant land as did the Wesleyan revival the northern half of the Western World. The extent of our national borders, and many of the best things and noblest institu-

tions held within that imperial domain, we owe to the national revival which came to Great Britain during the eighteenth century under the leadership of Whitefield and the Wesleys.

It remains also to be said that the Wesleyan revival, like the great awakening, did much to promote the unity of the English-speaking peoples. It broke the shock of the Revolutionary War, arrested the centrifugal tendencies which were generated by that conflict, and by which the Americans were in danger of flying away from the center of Anglo-Saxon unity to follow the movements of revolutionary France, and during all subsequent time it has contributed mightily to the unification of the Anglo-Saxon race. Mr. W. T. Stead is not extravagant in a recent utterance when he says: "From the standpoint of those who, like ourselves, regard the unity of the English-speaking people as one of the supreme ends of modern politics, it is difficult to exaggerate the importance of John Wesley and his work. In the most energetic denomination in the United States he created a new tie between the empire and the republic. Millions upon millions of Americans regard Epworth and Fetter Lane, the Foundry and City Road, as the Mecca and Medina of their faith. Carlyle

said that Shakespeare by his genius had unified the English-speaking world. We are all united, he said, in allegiance to King Shakespeare. But that which Shakespeare could not do, in that millions never read or see his plays, John Wesley has done much in effect. Among the influences which create a sense of unity among our English folk, that of John Wesley stands very nearly in the first rank. Neither Knox nor Cromwell affects the lives of so many men and women, who are toiling and working all around us to-day, as does John Wesley. There are nigh upon thirty millions of English-speaking men who view the next life through Wesley's spectacles, and whose round of daily duty is directly affected by the rules and regulations of the great Methodist saint—the Ignatius Loyola of the English Church."

This unification of the English-speaking world, growing closer every day, is a tremendous fact with which publicists and all mankind will have to reckon more and more in the years at hand.

VI.

THE GREAT REVIVAL OF 1800.

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It was the opening of a new revival epoch which has lasted now more than half a century with but short and partial interruptions—and blessed be God, the end is not yet.—*Dr. Heman Humphrey, ex-President Amherst College, in "Revival Sketches."*

From the year 1800 down to the year 1825 there was an uninterrupted series of these celestial visitations spreading over different parts of the land. During the whole of those twenty-five years there was scarcely a time in which we could not point to some village, some city, some seminary, and say: "Behold what God hath wrought!"—*Rev. Gardner Spring, D.D.*

From the period we have now reached (the year 1800), it is unnecessary and, indeed, impossible to trace distinctly the progress of our revivals. They have become, if I may so speak, a constituent part of the religious system of our country. . . . So that he who should oppose himself to revivals, *as such*, would be regarded by most of our evangelical Christians as *ipso facto* an enemy to spiritual religion itself.—*Dr. Robert Baird, in "Religion in America,"* 1856.

Calvinism, though more congenial than Episcopacy, and infinitely more so than Catholicism, was too cold for the fiery hearts of the borders; they were not stirred to the depths of their natures till other creeds, and above all Methodism, worked their way to the wilderness.—*Theodore Roosevelt, in "Winning of the West."*

VI.

THE GREAT REVIVAL OF 1800.

History shows a high disregard of the calendar, and great movements arise and proceed to their culmination with little respect for the date lines drawn by men. "In the fullness of time," as seen by God, the forces of Providence and the operations of the Spirit converge as allied powers on great elevations of life and advance to victories of world-wide significance, taking small notice of the turn of centuries as marked by human chronologists. Yet, for convenience of thought and facility of treatment, we may associate these triumphs of grace and faith with certain notable years and consider them within certain temporal limits. Thus we assign the great awakening to the year 1740, although it began at least five years before that date and continued many years afterwards. It reached its flood tide when Whitefield first visited New England, in 1740, and hence it is designated by that date. Similarly, the national revival which was going on at the opening of the nineteenth century is commonly called the great revival of 1800, al-

though it really began in 1792 and never ceased at any point so definitely that one could say of it, "Behold, here it ended." It reached its climax in the West, where its effects were most conspicuous, during the year 1800, and hence the name by which it is called.

It was preceded by a period of great religious declension. When it began, the state of both the nation and the Churches was gloomy by reason of faith decayed and hearts grown cold. Iniquity abounded and skepticism prevailed on all sides. The War of Independence had ended in victory for the colonies, but the young republic was threatened by dangers worse than armed foes, gaunt famine, or the noisome pestilence.

After the year 1750 there was a gradual subsidence of the revival influences of the great awakening. Many pious immigrants, it is true, came into the country from the Wesleyan revival centers of England from that time until the beginning of the war, twenty-five years later, and many Churches kept the fires on their altars burning brightly through all those trying days. But the opponents of the great revival, taking occasion from some of the excesses and disorders incident to it, did much to quench the sacred flame. The civil troubles arising from the

French wars, from 1756 to 1763, and the political agitations which led to the War of Independence also distracted the minds of men, and the spiritual life of many was sadly affected. Then came the war, with all the demoralization which usually attends a conflict of arms, and with not a little that was unusual and unprecedented. As it progressed, France, not because she loved the colonies so much, but because she hated England more, gave her sympathy and influence on behalf of the cause of independence. As a natural consequence, when the war was over French theories of government were vastly popular, and French notions of religion were widely accepted. The evil contagion was spread by the identification of certain conspicuous men, like Jefferson and Franklin, with the forces of liberalism. Charles Lee was a reckless blasphemer, and even Edmund Randolph came for a time under the influence of deism. General Dearborn, who became Secretary of War when Jefferson was President, was utterly impatient of all things religious, and on one occasion, in alluding to the Churches, said: "So long as these temples stand we cannot hope for order and good government." The grandson of Jonathan Edwards, Aaron Burr, who was then extremely popular, embraced French infi-

delity with all the ardor of a new convert and lent the force of his brilliant personality to the propagation of its tenets. The ribaldry of Paine and the vitriolic teachings of Voltaire were universally prevalent. A passage in Washington's farewell address was manifestly aimed at current conditions and derived peculiar force from its evident application to certain prominent persons. It also reveals how the wisest and best men of the times considered that these moral distempers involved grave political perils. With evident warmth the first President said: "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it be simply asked, Where is the security for prosperity, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can

be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious liberty." That address was given to the country in September, 1796, and was as keenly felt by the men of the time as its force is manifest to us who read it now. Such men as Franklin with his sordid and selfish morality, and Jefferson with his cold Unitarianism and his frigid ethical theories, must have winced under it.

It is not strange that the "Father of His Country" felt constrained to include such a paragraph among his parting counsels to his countrymen. The hearts of the strongest failed them for fear. Bishop Meade declared: "I can truly say that then, and for some years after, in every educated young man in Virginia whom I met I expected to find a skeptic, if not an avowed unbeliever." He characterized the College of William and Mary, which had been founded in religious motives for Christian ends, as "the hotbed of French politics and religion." Harvard College had gone far in the direction of liberalism, and was considerably advanced in the policy which culminated, in 1805, with the election of Henry Ware,

an avowed and extreme Unitarian, to the divinity professorship founded in 1722 by Thomas Hollis, a devout Baptist of London. Yale had succumbed to the evil influences of the hour, and when Timothy Dwight, another grandson of Jonathan Edwards and a cousin to Aaron Burr, came to the presidency of the institution, in 1795, it was honeycombed with atheistical clubs. Lyman Beecher, who entered the college as a student about that time, says it "was in a most ungodly state," and adds: "Most of the class before me were infidels, and called each other Voltaire, Rousseau, D'Alembert," etc. Thomas Cooper, a rank freethinker, was infecting every institution that he touched—Dickinson College, the University of Pennsylvania, and South Carolina College. Princeton had been closed for three years during the war, thus intermitting its beneficent influence, and in 1792 had only two among all its students who professed to be Christians.

The conditions existing in the educational institutions named indicated accurately the prevalent tendencies among the educated classes throughout the land. And the uneducated masses were equally alienated from God. Doubt among the cultured classes is always attended

with disorder among the uncultured, and the case of the new nation proved no exception to the rule.

The Presbyterian General Assembly, in a deliverance made in 1798, summed up the situation in terms of gloomy foreboding not disproportioned to the darkness of the hour. That conservative and consecrated body declared: "Formidable innovations and convulsions in Europe threaten destruction to morals and religion. Scenes of devastation and bloodshed, unexampled in the history of modern nations, have convulsed the world, and our country is threatened with similar calamities. We perceive with pain and fearful apprehension a general dereliction of religious principles and practice among our fellow-citizens, a visible and prevailing impiety and contempt for the laws and institutions of religion, and an abounding infidelity which, in many instances, tends to atheism itself. The profligacy and corruption of the public morals have advanced with a progress proportionate to our declension in religion. Profaneness, pride, luxury, injustice, intemperance, lewdness, and every species of debauchery and loose indulgence greatly abound."

The Methodist movement, which had but re-

cently entered the New World, girded as a strong man to run a race, and which had rapidly grown during the stormy period of the war, so that, by 1791, it was able to report 250 preachers and 63,269 white members and 12,884 members among the negroes, showed at the close of the year 1792 a decrease of 11,160 white members and an increase of only 987 to its colored membership. This decline continued through the year 1793. The tide turned a little in 1794, and there was a small annual increase until 1796, when the records show that the membership dropped from 60,291 to 56,664. The total membership of this young and enthusiastic Church at the close of the year 1800 was larger than it had been ten years before by only about 1,500 souls. Some allowance must be made for inaccuracy of statistics during that restless period, and also for the dropping out of Nova Scotia's reports; but after all deductions on these accounts are made, it remains unquestionably true that from 1791 to 1800 American Methodism, in common with all the other Churches of the country, was in a declining state.

Much of the loss, reflected in the Church statistics of the time, is explained by the vast migration which had begun from the East, west-

ward over the Alleghany Mountains into the great Mississippi basin, and which constituted a new peril to the young republic. It was the beginning of a peculiar and far-reaching system of colonization, which has continued from then until now, and by which more than thirty frontier colonies have grown into as many sovereign States in the Federal Union of America. It has been wholly unlike any scheme of colonization in ancient or modern times, and at the outset it brought with it religious and political dangers even greater than those which beset the first settlements of the British colonists in the New World. The men from the Old World who settled in the original thirteen Colonies came out of great awakenings, but these emigrants from the East to the West fled to the wilderness for purposes of gain and adventure, leaving their first homes in the East when the great awakening had been succeeded by a great declension of faith, and before the great revival of 1800 had begun. They were not driven by the Spirit into their wilderness temptation as their fathers had been in the seventeenth century, but they had hurried thither under the impulsion of purely mundane motives. Thus wrenched away from all those social and ecclesiastical

roots which nourish and enrich the spiritual life, they set themselves out in a wild and churchless region. Around them were the savages, cherishing many resentments against the whites and availing themselves of every opportunity to get booty or wreak vengeance. The warnings and inspirations of organized Christianity were left far behind, and the imperious claims of the body for support and security silenced all the voices of the famishing spirit. Men justified the worst excesses by the plea of necessity, and at length came to feel that they had wandered beyond the realm of moral law, and were inhabitants of a region in which virtue was not feasible. Moral deterioration, with all the social and political disorders which it both makes and implies, quickly set in. The dreadful situation may be easily inferred from a report made by a committee of Congress, in 1800, with respect to the three States into which it was proposed to divide the Northwest Territory. That report says that "in the three Western countries there has been but one court having cognizance of crimes in five years; and the immunity which offenders experience attracts, as to an asylum, the most vile and abandoned criminals, and at the same time deters useful

and virtuous persons from making settlements in such society. This territory is exposed, as a frontier, to foreign nations, whose agents can find sufficient interest in exciting or fomenting insurrection and discontent, as thereby they can more easily divert a valuable trade in furs from the United States."

Intemperance abounded to a horrible degree, and the manufacture of distilled liquors was speciously defended and widely carried on. "A horse can carry only four bushels of rye, but he can carry the whisky made from twenty-four bushels," was the final argument of those isolated and marketless settlements in defense of their most lucrative form of commerce. The "Whisky Insurrection of 1794" was an outburst of this interest, in rebellion against the internal revenue laws of the Federal government, and it is worthy of note that such a person as Albert Gallatin bore a part in that agitation. It is also significant that not a few towns in the "Northwest Territory" of that time were named for him, and are still so called.

The autobiography of the celebrated pioneer preacher of the Methodists, Peter Cartwright, reveals the general state of things in Kentucky in 1792, as he recalled it in his old age. He

says: "Logan County, when my father moved into it, was called 'Rogues' Harbor.' Here many refugees from all parts of the Union fled to escape punishment or justice; for although there was law, yet it could not be executed, and it was a desperate state of society. Murderers, horse thieves, highway robbers, and counterfeiters fled there, until they combined and actually formed a majority. Those who favored a better state of morals were called 'Regulators.' But they encountered fierce opposition from the 'Rogues,' and a battle was fought with guns, pistols, dirks, knives, and clubs, in which the 'Regulators' were defeated."

Rev. Dr. Joseph Doddridge reported of portions of the region on the Ohio: "Among the people with whom I was most conversant there was no other vestige of the Christian religion than a faint observance of the Sunday, and that merely as a day of rest for the aged and a play-day for the young."

Missionaries from the East who penetrated the Western territory reported to the authorities who sent them forth that from western Pennsylvania, throughout what is now West Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi, they found extensive tracts of

country, inhabited by from twenty to fifty thousand people, without a church or a preacher of any denomination. Nor was the region so thinly inhabited as might be supposed. In 1800 there were two hundred and twenty thousand people in Kentucky and one hundred and five thousand in Tennessee.

From forgetting their allegiance to God the people were coming to hold lightly their allegiance to the new republic. They had strayed almost beyond the reach of its protection and benefits, and they were beginning to disregard its authority and to despise its laws. Thus they were becoming the easy victims of agitators and adventurers, like the unscrupulous and subtle Aaron Burr, nursing his personal animosities and disappointed ambitions. If the conditions which beset them had continued much longer, an early secession must surely have been fomented, and civil war have followed.

At such a moment, to what source of deliverance could the nation look for the salvation of these populous but demoralized colonies?

To law? The report to Congress shows how infrequent and ineffective were the courts, and Cartwright's statement shows that the disorder-

ly elements outnumbered and overpowered the orderly.

To education? The people had neither the taste for it nor the means of supplying it. Besides, the process of education would have been too slow, if it had been adequate to remedy such a condition. While a generation was training, even if it could have been secured against contamination by its predecessor, the forces of evil would have outrun the forces of good by the rapidity of the immoral immigration which was flowing in upon them.

To a dainty, formal, and ritualistic or rationalistic Christianity? Spraying the den of the cockatrice with rose water in order to subdue its fierceness or neutralize its venom would have been as effective as that type of religion to heal the distempers of such a time and place.

Nothing but a great revival of religion, like the saving tide of the great awakening which swept over the early colonies, and the redeeming waves of the Wesleyan revival, which purified Great Britain, could cleanse the Western territory of its foulness. And such a revival came in the year 1800, and so gave the name by which the revival period which began in New England as early as 1792 is now known.

It came on this wise: Among those who had gone out from Pennsylvania were some Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. There were also among them many Methodists and not a few Baptists, with a small number of Episcopalians. These were the saving salt. Pursuing these exiles, the Methodists had sent out itinerant preachers who organized "circuits" within the territory as early as 1786. Other preachers—a few only—had also entered the field. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, who were conspicuous among the early settlers of the West, called a few ministers from the East. In 1796 a Presbyterian preacher named James McGready, who had seen pastoral service in Pennsylvania and North Carolina, took charge of several Churches in Logan County, Ky. As he moved around among his small and scattered congregations, his sermons were delivered with unwonted power, and his preaching began "to arouse false professors, to awaken a dead Church, and to warn sinners and lead them to seek the new spiritual life which he himself had found." Three years later two brothers, William and John McGee, one a Presbyterian minister and the other a Methodist—in combination the prototype of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, which arose

from the great revival a little later—came through the enchanting Cumberland country of Kentucky and Tennessee, preaching with amazing effect to vast multitudes that hung upon their words. On one occasion, in Logan County, July, 1800, thousands came together from far and near and encamped in the woods for several days to hear the long-neglected gospel of Christ. This was the beginning of the camp meetings which have been so effective in the advancement of Christianity in the United States, and out of which have grown the Chautauquas and other kindred assemblies of recent years.

Such meetings quickly became common, and an eyewitness of one of the scenes which were usual to them has left a vivid account of them. Rev. Barton Warren Stone, serving his two congregations of Concord and Cane Ridge, in Bourbon County, made the journey across the State of Kentucky to see for himself the wonderful things of which he and all the Northwest country were daily hearing astonishing accounts. He says: "There, on the edge of a prairie in Logan County, Ky., the multitudes came together and continued a number of days and nights encamped on the ground, during which time worship was carried on in some part of the

encampment. The scene was new to me and passing strange. It baffled description. Many, very many, fell down as men slain in battle, and continued for hours together in an apparently breathless and motionless state, sometimes for a few minutes reviving and exhibiting symptoms of life by a deep groan or a piercing shriek, or by a prayer for mercy fervently uttered. After lying there for hours, they obtained deliverance. The gloomy cloud that had covered their faces seemed gradually and visibly to disappear, and hope in smiles brightened into joy. They would rise shouting deliverance, and then would address the surrounding multitude in language truly eloquent and impressive. With astonishment did I hear men, women, and children declaring the wonderful works of God and the glorious mysteries of the gospel."

Deeply impressed by all he had seen and heard, this godly minister returned to his people in Bourbon County and told them the story of what he had witnessed. "The congregation was affected with awful solemnity, and many returned home weeping." Not many months after—August, 1801—the people saw for themselves similar scenes at Cane Ridge. "The roads were crowded with wagons, carriages,

horses, and footmen moving to the solemn camp," says Stone. "It was judged," he continues, "by military men on the ground that between twenty and thirty thousand persons were assembled. Four or five preachers spoke at the same time in different parts of the encampment without confusion. The Methodist and Baptist preachers aided in the work, and all appeared cordially united in it. They were of one mind and soul; the salvation of sinners was the one object. We all engaged in singing the same songs, all united in prayer, all preached the same things. . . . The numbers converted will be known only in eternity. Many things transpired in the meeting which were so much like miracles that they had the same effect as miracles on unbelievers. By them many were convinced that Jesus was the Christ and were persuaded to submit to him. This meeting continued six or seven days and nights, and would have continued longer, but food for the sustenance of such a multitude failed. To this meeting many had come from Ohio and other distant parts. These returned home and diffused the same spirit in their respective neighborhoods. Similar results followed. So low had religion sunk, and such carelessness had

universally prevailed, that I had thought nothing common could have arrested and held the attention of the people."

This narrative reads like the accounts of Whitefield's preaching on Boston Common, in the New World, or on Blackheath, in England. It sounds like the stories of the assemblies to whom the Wesleys spoke. It depicts a marvelous and startling awakening. And Mr. Stone is right. For such an uncommon need there was required an uncommon remedy. An effeminate preacher of the academic sort in the present day, sitting down to analyze such a work, is as incapable of comprehending it as the dainty dandies of the days of Rehoboam would have been unable to understand the miraculous achievement of Gideon's three hundred.

The good work ran rapidly through all the Cumberland and Ohio country until every settlement was full of faith and fervor. The Presbyterians soon dropped the camp meetings, but the Methodists took them up and turned them to blessed account in "the winning of the West."

Fortunately for the Methodists and for the movement, and happily for the country, William McKendree, a very strong and judicious man, who subsequently became a bishop, was appointed

presiding elder on the Kentucky District in 1801. Under his skillful administration camp meetings were made of great service in the upbuilding of his own Church and in the promotion of the revival in the West.

Of course the revival soon developed excesses and irregularities, and again, as in the days of Whitefield and Wesley, the futile and foolish effort was made to get rid of the smoke by smothering the flame. It failed, as it deserved to fail, and the purifying fire burned on despite all of its own defects and against all opposition.

And the movement vindicated its heavenly origin by the peaceable fruits of righteousness which it yielded. Dr. George A. Baxter, a man of most sober mind and even temperament, wrote in reply to a letter of inquiry from the celebrated Archibald Alexander, of Princeton, as follows: "On my way I was informed by settlers on the road that the character of Kentucky travelers was entirely changed, and that they were as remarkable for sobriety as they had formerly been for dissoluteness and immorality. And indeed I found Kentucky, to appearances, the most moral place I had ever seen. A profane expression was hardly ever heard. A religious awe seemed to pervade the country.

Upon the whole, I think the revival in Kentucky the most extraordinary that has ever visited the Church of Christ; and, all things considered, it was peculiarly adapted to the circumstances of the country into which it came. Infidelity was triumphant and religion was on the point of expiring. Something extraordinary seemed necessary to arrest the attention of a giddy people who were ready to conclude that Christianity was a fable and futurity a delusion. The revival has done it. It has confounded infidelity and brought numbers beyond calculation under serious impressions."

To the same effect is the sermon preached in 1803 to the Presbyterian Synod of Kentucky by the Rev. David Rice, who, in the course of his discourse, declared: "Neighborhoods noted for their vicious and profligate manners are now as much noted for their piety and good order. Drunkards, profane swearers, liars, quarrelsome persons, etc., are remarkably reformed."

Most naturally reports of the wonderful work went back to the older settlements of the country, whence the people of the Northwest Territory had come out, and these reports had the effect of intensifying the revival fires which had been burning in various localities in the East

since 1792, and to fan them into a national conflagration. It is especially interesting to mark the effect which the great revival in the West had on the Scotch-Irish communities in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas, and to observe the results of it among the Methodists of the same region as far south as Georgia. The wave of religious enthusiasm that flowed eastward followed exactly the route over which the people of the West had migrated, and proceeded directly to the centers in the East from which they came forth. At one camp meeting on the eastern shore of Maryland one thousand persons were converted—and the meeting lasted only five days and nights.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, in its annual review of the state of religion in the year 1800, adverted with satisfaction to the work in the West, and declared that "the state and prospects of vital religion in our country are more favorable and encouraging than at any period within the last forty years." In what marked contrast with this cheerful utterance was the gloomy deliverance of 1798—just two years before!

At the close of the year the Methodists reported 2,700 members in the region visited by

the revival, and by 1810 their numbers in that section alone had risen to 22,899. The Baptists also showed a large growth. No Church in all the region was left unblessed and unchanged by it.

Out of the great revival in the West came a new ecclesiastical organization, the very name of which—Cumberland Presbyterian—marks the date and place of its birth. In the course of the great work some of the Presbyterians, probably by association with the Methodists, experienced a change of certain of their theological opinions, notably with respect to the Calvinistic tenet of unconditional election and reprobation. They also observed the pulpit power of some of the Baptist and Methodist preachers whose educational qualifications were below the standard required for admission into the Presbyterian ministry. Around them was a hungry and shepherdless multitude needing more preachers, by hundreds, than the entire available supply of educated ministers. They proposed, therefore, a relaxation in both their Calvinistic creed and the Presbyterian requirements for entrance into the ministry. To all this most of the synods and presbyteries were opposed. The issues thus joined led eventually to the separation of the Cumber-

land Presbytery from the rest of the Church and its erection into another denomination, with its revised creed and modified system of government. At this time (1904) negotiations are pending between the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America and that of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church looking toward the union of the two Churches. If this union shall be brought to pass—which seems probable—it will be because the "old school" Presbyterians have softened their creed and the Cumberland Presbyterians no longer find it necessary to insist on their view about the education of the ministry. The progress of both religion and education in the United States in a hundred years has modified the original positions of both parties, and an adjustment of their differences seems easy. When, however, the name "Cumberland Presbyterian" disappears from the list of American Churches there will still be left the imperishable record of a glorious fidelity and apostolic zeal in the work of saving the West at a critical time in our national history.

In reviewing the Wesleyan movement attention was called to the connection of that national revival in England with the acquisition of the

Northwest Territory from France; and we now have seen how another great revival in America rescued the same region from barbarism. The Wesleyan revival helped to preserve the vast tract for the possession of the Great Republic, and the revival of 1800 redeemed its first occupants from the sins which threatened them with destruction and menaced the republic with revolution and dismemberment.

In passing, however, from this phase of the subject, it should be said that it is not claimed for the revival of 1800 that it accomplished all that was necessary for the evangelization of the West at the moment, or that it finally assured the security of that region through all the years which have followed. But it averted the most serious and menacing evils of that period and set in motion influences and enterprises which have never ceased to operate on behalf of the Christian civilization of the Western country, as the frontiers of the republic have moved steadily toward the Pacific and as wave after wave of immigration has followed the ever moving boundary of the nation. Without it the West would have been lost to the Union then, and but for the effects of the revival which remain to this day the West would not be secure now. No adequate

history of the Northwest can omit or minimize this factor in its development.

Up to this point we have confined our attention to the work in the West, but the revival and its effects were not limited to the region west of the Alleghanies. In the East it was less tumultuous, but scarcely less influential and beneficial. Indeed, but for the influence of the revival movement in the colleges of the East, much of its effects in the West would have been lost in the first twenty-five years of the nineteenth century. Out of the Eastern colleges came the religious leaders of the Western Churches, and without the revival in the colleges the supply of such leaders would have been insufficient for the demand. A revival of national extent was thus required and came at this critical hour in our country's history. An omnipresent and omniscient Personality seemed to brood over the whole land, reviving the work of grace simultaneously in widely separated centers, from which it moved on until all the intervening spaces were covered by the holy influence, thus rescuing the young nation from prevalent infidelity and immorality, and providing moral safeguards for its future welfare.

Of the beginning of the revival in Connecti-

cut in 1792, Dr. E. D. Griffin said: "From that date I saw a continued succession of heavenly sprinklings, until I could stand in my door in New Hartford and number fifty or sixty congregations laid down in one field of divine wonders."

From East to West, from North to South, and through all the Churches the movement swept in resistless power and overwhelming mercy.

The educational institutions of the country, in which, as we have seen, infidelity was previously so prevalent, were especially favored by the heavenly visitation. In 1802 a revival in Yale College shook the institution to its center, and it seemed for a time that the "whole mass of students would press into the kingdom," and "nearly all the converts entered the ministry." This was, doubtless, in a great measure the result of the efforts of Dr. Timothy Dwight, who, from the moment he came to the presidency (1795), had waged incessant warfare on the skeptical tendencies and theories of the hour until, according to Lyman Beecher, then a student there, "all infidelity skulked and hid its head." Four distinct revivals occurred during his presidency, resulting in the conversion of two hundred and ten young men, not a few of whom subsequently bore distinguished parts in

the evangelization of the West. So enduring was his influence over the college that from 1812 to 1837 there were "thirteen special revivals, or one every two years, besides several other seasons of more than usual religious interest." In that revival period of its history Yale influenced the life of the republic as it never did before or since.

During the same time all the existing institutions of learning in the land, with the possible exception of Harvard, were similarly blessed, and out of the revival of 1800 a number of new institutions were born.

Special mention should be made in this connection of the work of Samuel John Mills, who joined Williams College, Mass., in the spring of 1806, and who "had been prepared by the revival of Torringford, Litchfield County, in 1798–99." He was a very remarkable man, and his religious career was directly attributable to the revival of 1800. As he and one of his fellows were about to leave the seminary for active service, he said: "You and I, brother, are little men, but before we die our influence must be felt on the other side of the world." To him was granted only five years of activity in public service, but the "little man" was felt

round the world and will be felt to the end of time. Through his efforts mainly, a revival spread through Williams College soon after his entrance into the institution, and by that revival gave the college its unique place in the religious and educational history of the United States. Dr. Griffin says: "Mills had devoted himself to the cause of missions from the commencement of his new existence, and by the influence of that revival he was enabled to diffuse his spirit through a choice circle who raised this college to the distinction of being the birthplace of American missions. In the spring of 1808 they formed a secret society to extend their influence to other colleges and to distinguished individuals in different parts of the country. One of them first roused the missionary energies of Pliny Fisk, who afterwards died in Palestine. In the autumn of that year, in a beautiful meadow on the banks of the Hoosac, these young Elijahs prayed into existence the embryo of American missions. In the fall of 1809 Mills, Richards, and Robbins carried this society to Andover, where it roused the first missionary band that went out to India, in 1812, where it is still exerting a mighty influence on the interests of the world. In that band were

Gordon Hall and Luther Rice, of this college [and Adoniram Judson, converted at Andover]. Richards soon followed and laid his bones in India. Mills and his coadjutors were the means of forming the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the American Bible Society, the United Foreign Missionary Society, and the African School under the care of the Synod of New York and New Jersey; besides all the impetus given to domestic missions, to the Colonization Society, and to the general cause of benevolence in both hemispheres."

The part Mills bore in bringing to birth the American Bible Society bears so immediately upon the work in the West, and that great institution has told so mightily on the history of the nation, that it demands special treatment at this point in our narrative of the revival of 1800, in which it took its rise. In 1813 he and John F. Schermerhorn were sent out by the Massachusetts Missionary Society on a mission tour of the West. They traversed the whole region from Pittsburg, Pa., to New Orleans, La. They found great spiritual destitution and undertook, as far as they could, to relieve the need—especially by the distribution of the Bible. They made a graphic report when they returned,

which, in his "History of the People of the United States," McMaster summarizes and comments on as follows: "Wherever they went they found great tracts of country inhabited by from twenty to fifty thousand people, in which there was not a preacher of any sect. Where there were any they were almost invariably Methodists. Occasionally they were Baptists, but rarely Presbyterians. The Discipline of the Methodists was especially well suited to the state of the West. Population was scattered. The people were poor, and not at all inclined to form societies and incur the expense of maintaining a settled minister. A sect, therefore, which marked out the region into circuits, put a rider on each and bade him cover it once a month, preaching here to-day and there to-morrow, but returning at intervals to each community, provided the largest amount of religious teaching and preaching at the least expense. This was precisely what the Methodists did, and this was precisely what the people desired. Such men and women as made any profession of religion were, therefore, very generally Methodists; but the West was too vast a region to be Christianized by any one sect, and the great body of the people were in a state of indifference. The

sole competitors of the Methodists in their good work were the Baptists. From the Presbyterians they had little to fear. The General Assembly and the Cumberland Presbytery did, indeed, send a few missionaries each year into certain parts of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee; but their labors ended in six or eight weeks, and the good work they did was easily undone in the ten months which elapsed before they came again or its fruits were gathered by other sects. . . . Taking the country in general, Mills and Schermerhorn found it, in spite of all that had been done, in a state of spiritual darkness." The report of these heroic young men, being spread broadcast among the Bible societies and missionary societies of the East, aroused Eastern Churches to new zeal; and in the summer of 1814 Mills and Daniel Smith, "fairly loaded down with religious literature," were sent on a second missionary tour to the West. They carried with them "700 English Bibles, 5,000 New Testaments in French, 15,000 tracts, and great bundles of sermons and pamphlets—all contributed by the Bible and tract societies of New England and the Middle States." But the work was found to be almost infinitely beyond their strength and resources. Since the first visit con-

ditions had grown worse by reason of the immense volume of immigration which poured daily into the great Mississippi basin. After going over the field the second time, Mills expressed the deliberate opinion that there were, in 1815, 76,000 families between the Alleghany Mountains and the Mississippi River destitute of the Bible. This appalling destitution led him, on his return in the summer of 1815, to propose to the societies of the East the organization of a National Bible Society, with auxiliary societies in every city and town. The proposal met with general favor and resulted in the organization of the American Bible Society by a convention of delegates from twenty-eight Bible Societies, assembled in the city of New York, May 8, 1816. This greatest Christian enterprise of America is, therefore, directly traceable to the great revival of 1800.

Nor was this the only great philanthropic and religious institution which it brought into being. It was one of the conspicuous characteristics of this revival that it produced almost all of those great missionary and evangelistic organizations which have since done so much good for our own and other lands. To this period belong, besides the great missionary societies, the American

Tract Society and the American Sunday School Union.

The revival of 1800 marks also the era of the beginning of the religious periodicals of America, which have a greater prominence and power than has the religious press of any other land. Thomas Prince published the first periodical of this kind in the New World. It was called *The Christian History*, and was published weekly in 1744–45, to give accounts of the revival of religion in Great Britain and the colonies at that time. Like John the Baptist, it was a forerunner, but died without posterity or a successor. But with the revival of 1800 came a great troop of religious papers, beginning with the *Evangelical Magazine*, at Hartford in 1800, followed by many others in rapid succession, until by January, 1828, there were thirty-seven religious papers in the United States. One of them, the *Christian Advocate*, the organ of the Methodists, published in New York, had a weekly circulation of fifteen thousand copies, which, according to a statement in McMaster's "History of the People of the United States," was the largest circulation which had then been "reached by any newspaper in the world, the London *Times* excepted."

It was perhaps due in a great measure to the organizations and periodicals which sprang from the revival that it continued longer than any of the revivals which had preceded it in America, and that it tended, more than did all previous movements, to fix permanently the evangelistic type of American Christianity. "It was," as Leonard Woolsey Bacon has truly said, "the beginning of a long period of vigorous and 'abundant life,' moving forward not, indeed, with even and unvarying flow, yet with continuous current, marked with those alternations of exaltation and subsidence which seem, whether for evil or for good, to have become a fixed characteristic of American Church history." Albert Barnes said: "That day which shall convince the great body of professing Christians of the reality and desirableness of revivals will constitute a new era in the history of religion, and will precede manifestations of power like that of Pentecost." The revival of 1800 did so convince the great majority of American Churches, and it has been followed by a pentecostal era.

Another characteristic of this revival was that, unlike the great awakening and the Wesleyan revival, it was directed by no great leader or

group of leaders. This was as might have been expected. Notwithstanding the gloom of the period in which it began, there were more men in the United States prepared for service in such a work than were in England and the colonies in the days of the Wesleys, Whitefield, Edwards, and the Tennents. It began in a time of dearth, but not in a time of utter desolation. There were, therefore, more eminent workers and fewer preëminent leaders. Perhaps the most nearly approaching leadership in the movement were Timothy Dwight, the President of Yale College, and Francis Asbury, the bachelor Bishop of the Methodists. The former broke the back of French infidelity and drove skepticism from the colleges, and the latter superintended the Methodist movement, which set in motion an army of itinerant evangelists from the easternmost shores of New England to the farthest western frontier. The former is justly celebrated for his exalted worth and invaluable services; the latter is little known or appreciated beyond the limits of the denomination which he served so long and faithfully. When Whitefield died, in 1770, he was probably known by sight to more Americans than was any other man, and the same might be said of Asbury in

1816, when he passed away at the home of his old friend, George Arnold, of Spottsylvania, Va. He had covered the whole length of the Atlantic coast more times than had Whitefield at his death, and sixty times he had crossed the Alleghany Mountains, visiting the great Mississippi basin, a region into which Whitefield never penetrated. He began his itinerant ministry at seventeen and ended it in his seventy-first year, and during those fifty-four years it is estimated that he averaged a sermon or an exhortation a day. He preached in the United States forty-five years, and his journeyings through the country during those years were equal, upon an average, to the circuit of the globe every five years—"and this by private conveyance, mainly horseback." Of him, quite as much as of Whitefield, it is but just to say that, "moving up and down the Atlantic coast like a shuttle, he wove together the sentiments of the people and contributed much to the creation of a national spirit."

With all these facts in mind, let us ask, Is it possible to overestimate the value of the great revival of 1800 to the Great Republic? In its holy fires heterogeneous and discordant elements were melted and then molded by its or-

ganizations to a common type. Thereby the unity of the nation was preserved and promoted.

If such a revival of religion had not come, opportunity and temptation would have been presented for any number of Aaron Burrs to work schemes of disintegration and dismemberment in the West. But by the revival forces of national unity were created, which operated to the saving of the nation then and to its progress at a later time.

But for the national unity, thus secured, the subsequent war with Mexico a half century later, and the whole history of "the winning of the West," would have had a different culmination. Instead, therefore, of an unbroken Anglo-Saxon civilization, stretching from ocean to ocean, we should have seen, doubtless, a Latin type of life and government west of the Mississippi, with all that such a type implies. The great revival of 1800 was the menstruum by which dissimilar and antagonistic elements were made to run together as a sound composite.

Moreover, it carried the nation safely through the period when the recent disestablishment of all the Churches had deprived them of the support of the State, and had thrown them wholly

upon the maintenance supplied by voluntary benevolence. Many supposed that with the utter separation of Church and State religion would be starved, and that, religion perishing, government would fall beneath the assaults of universal godlessness. And such would have been the fate of a godless republic. But the revival opened the hidden fountains of benevolence, and not only were the local Churches sustained but organized charities of far-reaching benevolence were founded, and there was thus inaugurated an era of princely giving unprecedented for generosity in the annals of nations. Church and State were thus happily put asunder, never to be joined again in that unholy wedlock of a State religion which always breeds persecution and corruption, to the reproach of religion and the dishonor of government. And the divorce was accomplished without injury to Christianity or shock to the civil organization; nay, rather to the advantage of both.

Disestablishment, at the outset of colonial history, would have endangered religion among the colonists; but the continuance of a State Church in any one of the States, after the Great Republic was organized, would have been a calamity to both Church and State. And if it had

been proposed to establish any one Church for the entire nation, the Federal Union would have been forestalled by the mere proposal. It was therefore of the last importance that disestablishment should come, and that it should come without a jarring controversy or an alienating contention. The transition was made easy by the great revival of 1800. It is impossible to see how the passage could have been made so smoothly and successfully without the revival. On the bosom of a gracious flood of brotherly love and Christian benevolence it carried the nation over this perilous period, when religion might otherwise have been suffocated by State support or killed by popular neglect.

And men now saw clearly demonstrated that the Church, the Bride of the Lamb, finds in the providence of the Bridegroom and in the devotion of her children of faith a more generous and reliable support than the coffers of kings contain or the treasuries of States will supply. The Church was now finally and successfully divorced from the civil government, and scorned to ask alimony of any sort. What God hath put asunder, let no man join together.

VII.

THE REVIVAL OF 1858.

The lay element was prominent in this revival. The workers, mostly, were laymen. From the beginning ministers of the gospel cheerfully stood by and saw the principal share of labor in the hands of their lay brethren.—*Henry C. Fish, in "Handbook of Revivals."*

As the immediate result of the revival of 1857–58 it has been estimated that one million members were added to the fellowship of the Churches. But the ulterior result was greater. This revival was the introduction to a new era of the nation's spiritual life. It was the training school for a force of lay evangelists for future work, eminent among whom is the name of Dwight Moody; and, like the great awakening of 1740, it was the providential preparation of the American Church for an immediately impending peril, the gravity of which there were none at the time far-sighted enough to predict. Looking backward, it is instructive for us to raise the question how the Church would have passed through the decade of the sixties without the spiritual reënforcement that came to it amid the pentecostal scenes of 1857 and 1858.—*Leonard Woolsey Bacon, in "History of American Christianity."*

The spirit of philanthropy more and more pervades the Church. Sometimes this appears in corporate action, and often in individual consecration. Wealth is poured out in abundance in the founding of institutions of healing and mercy. Men who make but little profession of Christianity are touched by the genius of the gospel, and vie with each other in providing for themselves a monument better far than sculptured stone or storied urn.—*Bishop J. F. Hurst, in "Short History of the Christian Church."*

Before and after an engagement our camp fires were the place of song and thanksgiving, and many were converted who still attest that God was with us.—*Bishop John C. Keener, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, who was a Superintendent of Chaplains in the Confederate Armies West of the Mississippi.*

VII.

THE REVIVAL OF 1858.

As we have seen in the foregoing chapter, the great revival of 1800 continued through many years, and marked a distinct advance in the revivalistic methods of the American Churches. Henceforth such methods were almost universally accepted, and by them there was a constant ingathering of souls. By consequence the Churches enjoyed, from 1800 to 1840, an extraordinary period of prosperity. For many years during this period there were added as many as forty thousand members annually. Each year's increase was nearly equal to the entire number of converts in the great awakening. And this amazing annual increase was secured from a comparatively small population, the total population of the United States being only 5,305,937 in 1800, and barely exceeding 17,000,000 souls in 1840. The growth of the Churches rapidly outran the growth of the nation.

The growth of the Methodist Church during those forty years reveals the progress of religion throughout the country as a whole. In

1800 the number of Methodists in the United States was 64,894, and their preachers numbered 287. In 1840 the membership had increased to 749,216, and they had 3,557 itinerant preachers and 5,856 local preachers. The growth of this Church alone showed, therefore, an average annual increase of above 17,000 members. Some of this large and constant increase was attributable to immigration from the British Isles, where the Wesleyan revival was still affecting for good the new republic by the converts made and sent by it to the Western World. But the greater part is explained by the continuous revivals which were going on in every part of the country.

The young organization of the Cumberland Presbyterians also grew rapidly, and the Church organized by Alexander Campbell, which came to birth about the same time, developed at a speedy rate.

The older denominations, of course, shared largely in the fruits of the revivals which prevailed during this prosperous period.

The disposition manifested by all the Churches to organize benevolent enterprises and philanthropic institutions, for the advancement of Christianity, took visible form in the multipli-

cation of missionary and tract societies, publishing plants, and educational establishments. This period was an organizing as well as an evangelizing era in the history of Anglo-Saxon Christianity.

A little later there came to pass two organizations, which had so much to do with the revival of 1858 that they should receive special mention at this point in our narrative. They sprang from the spirit of Christian unity which, from the beginning of the great awakening in America and the Wesleyan revival in Great Britain, had characterized the evangelistic movement on both sides of the Atlantic—a spirit that waxed stronger as the continuous revivals of the first half of the nineteenth century went on throughout the English-speaking world. Both began in London, yet both were destined to influence in a great measure America. One was the Young Men's Christian Association, organized in London in 1844, and the other was the Evangelical Alliance, a sort of ecumenical council of evangelical Christendom, which held its first meeting in the same great metropolis in 1846.

But, while Christian organizations multiplied and local revivals prevailed at many points

throughout the country for many years after the great revival of 1800, there was no revival of continental extent until the year 1858. Nor were there any religious leaders whose efforts and influence affected the whole nation as did Whitefield, Edwards, and the Wesleys. Here and there were men of great power—such as Edward N. Kirk, of Boston, Edward Payson, of Portland, Me., John Summerfield, and Peter Cartwright, the Methodist pioneer in the West. Cartwright received over ten thousand persons into the Church, and Summerfield, during his brief and brilliant career, was justly celebrated and widely useful. But none of these attained to the height of national leadership. The two men who perhaps during this period most nearly approached such leadership were Charles G. Finney and Asahel Nettleton. The former lived longer and was far more widely known than the latter. The latter was a graduate of Yale College when Timothy Dwight was its President, and was a man of earnest spirit and of great power.

Finney began life as a lawyer, but abandoned that profession for the ministry in 1824, and labored with great success as an evangelist until 1835, when he accepted a professorship in Ober-

lin College, Ohio. He, however, continued to evangelize, at intervals, in New York and elsewhere. The three years from 1848 to 1851 he spent in England, where he was warmly received and widely useful. In 1852 he became President of Oberlin College, and there he died, in 1875. Excepting his visit to the British Isles, his evangelistic tours were confined, in the main, to points in the States of New York, Connecticut, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and Ohio.

Nettleton prepared himself for the work of a foreign missionary, but this purpose was frustrated by the feebleness of his health. His evangelistic efforts were put forth, for the most part, in New England and New York, although he spent the two years from 1827 to 1829 in Virginia, seeking health. In 1831 he visited England, Ireland, and Scotland.

These two men were truly great evangelists, but no general movement of continental extent followed from their ministry. They both rendered service to the evangelical cause in Great Britain—the first return of the sort that America made for the services of Whitefield in the revival of 1740. They were products as well as promoters of the religious prosperity which pre-

vailed in the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century, and occupied a conspicuous place on the plane of general spiritual elevation around them—eminent, but not preeminent.

During this period of religious prosperity the young nation increased in wealth and power, and as gains grew godliness declined. Men forgot God in pursuit of gold. Political debates became rancorous, and, after the administration of President Monroe, the subjects of these controversies were mainly financial measures and fiscal policies. The heart of the young republic was set on wealth, and the zeal of the people for religion became lukewarm. It was during this period that President Jackson and the National Bank had their struggle, and the financial panic of Martin Van Buren's day ensued. Then came the exciting times of the "Harrison Freshet," followed by a period of plenty and the first impulses of national ambition. The slavery question began to be agitated, and the annexation of Texas became a national issue. To this period belongs also the Mexican War, whereby the area of the national domain was greatly extended—an extension which drew after it negotiations which, by pur-

chase from Mexico and a treaty with Great Britain, completed the area of continental United States as it stands to-day. Meanwhile gold was discovered in California, railroads, telegraph and steamship lines multiplied, harvests were plenteous, and commerce was prosperous. Riches increased, and multitudes set their hearts upon them. The nation was forgetting God, fighting the battles of greed, and fanning the fires of sectional animosity. Political strife grew more bitter, and the great Civil War drew on apace. In the midst of all its plenty and pride, the nation woke one morning to find that the glory was all a dream. While speculation was at fever heat, and when men were wild with a mania for money-making, there came a financial crash unprecedented in the nation's history. In the twinkling of an eye the riches of many took wings and flew away. Bankruptcies, failures, frauds, and defalcations were on every hand, and the hearts of men failed them for fear. It was the repetition of the old, sad story of a people grown great by godliness, then gradually departing from the true God in the worship of Mammon, and finally prostrated by its evil idolatry.

And now that the wheels of industry stood

still, and the noisy cries of greed were hushed, men stopped to hear the voice of the Spirit calling them to repentance. And they heeded the heavenly call. Another revival of national extent began.

It did not begin in the Churches, nor was it brought to pass by the preaching of some long-neglected doctrine of grace, as had been the case in all the national revivals that had preceded it. From the Reformation, in the days of Martin Luther, each successive revival had recovered some neglected truth which had been overlaid by mediæval superstition or metaphysical scholasticism. But when at length this work of the rediscovery of evangelical Christianity had reached its climax in Wesley's preaching of a universal atonement, the witness of the Spirit, and Christian perfection, there was nothing of the long-lost treasure left to be exhumed. All that was required was the faithful preaching of the fully recovered gospel to every creature. And it had been preached with supernatural power in America, but men had for a time neglected it that they might get gold and live riotously. The nation was backslidden, but not apostate from the faith. Men knew the truth; even the layman of the countinghouse

and the forum knew well enough the gospel of Christ's salvation.

And hence the revival of 1858 began outside the Churches, in the center of the nation's commerce.

A little room in the lower part of the city of New York, in the very midst of the currents of trade, on the third floor of the "Consistory" of the old Dutch Reformed Church, in Fulton Street, was thrown open for a weekly noonday prayer meeting. At first the "downtown" missionary who made the appointment (Jeremiah Lanphier) met there three persons, then six, and then twenty. At the fourth meeting they assembled on the floor below, and there the Business Men's Prayer Meeting began at once to attract attention. A daily meeting became necessary presently, and then the room overflowed with attendants on the services, so that a second and a third room in the same building were required to accommodate the people who flocked there. The seats in all the rooms were filled, and even the entrances and passages soon became so crowded that it was difficult for any one to pass in or out. The disappointed multitudes who went away because they could not secure room there demanded another place of

prayer, and the old John Street Methodist Church and lecture room were both opened for noonday prayer meetings every day, the services being under the direction of a committee of the Young Men's Christian Association. These rooms also overflowed. Meetings were then multiplied in many other parts of the city. The good work thus begun in New York quickly spread to Philadelphia, Boston, and other cities and towns, until there was scarcely a place of any considerable importance in the United States in which similar services were not undertaken. The revival prevailed everywhere, without human leadership or concert of action, as if inspired and directed by the overshadowing influence of a superhuman Personality.

A marked feature of the meetings was the fact that in them men of all denominations united. In the unity of the Spirit and the bonds of peace strong men bowed together in earnest supplication to God for the outpouring of the Spirit, that the backsliding of the nation might be healed.

These assemblies became so notable that the secular newspapers felt constrained to print daily reports of them. This was the beginning of the use of the secular press for religious ends, which

ever since has been continued, to the elevation of the newspapers and to the advantage of the cause of Christ.

Even the new invention of the telegraph was employed to spread the news of salvation. Fervent and fraternal messages passed between the assemblies of different cities. Wayward sons, recovered from prodigal ways, telegraphed to anxious parents of their newly found joy. Brothers and sisters, long separated from each other by the westward movements of that migratory generation, exchanged greetings of gladness and renewed affection.

The pervasive and persuasive influence filled the marts of trade, spread to the rural districts, and penetrated the walls of schools and colleges. It went everywhere, and affected all classes.

And the movement proceeded with marvelous rapidity. The fire was scarcely kindled before the country was all ablaze in the glorious flame which burned away the dross of mammonism and worldliness from thousands of lives.

It is estimated that one hundred thousand conversions occurred within the short space of four months, and that during the first year which followed the beginning of the work four

hundred thousand souls were brought to Christ. Before the great revival ended, it is said, one million members were added to the Churches.

The work in the North was begun and continued in the cities after the manner already described. In the South there were no large cities, but a widely scattered rural population, remote from both the perils and privileges of urban life. The results in that part of the country, therefore, were not heralded in the press nor flashed over the telegraph wires, as was the case in the North. But they were not less abundant and blessed. Indeed, they were, in proportion to the population, greater in the South than in any other section, and they were achieved in the main by the Churches and in the Churches.

The statistics of all the Churches of the South are not accessible, but the figures of one which are at hand may be taken as some measure of the success of all the rest. In 1844 the Methodist Episcopal Church had been divided, and two ecclesiastical jurisdictions were set up—one in the North and the other in the South. At the close of the year 1858 the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, had gathered in a twelvemonth 43,388 members and probationers, of

whom 10,117 were negroes and 110 were Indians. In 1859, 21,852 were added; and in 1860, 36,182 more. When the war between the States began, this Church had on its rolls 629,455 members in full connection, of whom 171,857 were negroes and 3,395 were Indians. Its probationers numbered 119,613, among them being 35,909 negroes and 771 Indians. In fifteen years (from 1845 to 1860) its membership increased from 450,000 to 630,000 (using round numbers), or 180,000 souls. That meant many glorious revivals, especially during the years 1858, 1859, and 1860. Its sister Churches in the same section were proportionately prosperous, especially the great Baptist denomination, which divides so nearly with the Methodists the rural communities of the South. It may be reasonably doubted if, at the outbreak of the Civil War, on any similar area in the English-speaking world having a population no denser than that of the South, there were as few infidels and as many evangelical Christians. Of all the sections of the Union, it is most solidly English in its type and evangelical in its religion.

It has been something more than a coincidence that for above one hundred and fifty years the great revivals in the United States have been

simultaneous with similar movements in the British Isles. When the great awakening was in progress, in 1740, the Wesleyan revival in England had already begun. When the revival of 1800 was stirring the West and saving the nation, the revival of the Haldanes in Scotland was in progress, and the Wesleyan revival, at its second flood, was overflowing upon the New World; and now, when the revival of 1858 was burning from ocean to ocean, there was a "great year of grace" throughout Great Britain, and the work continued during the year 1859. It is estimated that in Wales, with a population of only a little more than a million, there were 30,000 to 35,000 conversions, and it is known that the Welsh Calvinistic Church added 25,000 to the roll of its membership. In Belfast, Ireland, the inhabitants of which numbered 130,000 souls, there were 10,000 converts. In the nine counties which compose the Province of Ulster, the most northern district of Ireland, there were 306 congregations that were visited by the revival, and 10,636 new communicants were added to the Churches. Rev. Dr. Baron Stowe, of Boston, witnessed the revival in Ireland in 1859, and in a letter published in 1860 said of it: "Many hundreds, not only from the

unblessed districts of Ireland but also from England and Scotland, and even from the Continent, hastened to the scene of the Spirit's wonder-working; and while many remained longer than they intended, coöperating with the overtasked laborers, few returned without the conviction that Ulster was pervaded by the power of the Highest."

Great meetings were held in Exeter Hall and Surrey Gardens to reach the unchurched masses. The *Saturday Review*, profanely deriding the work, testified to its extensiveness by declaring: "Undoubtedly the thing is catching."

It means much for the Great Republic when results like these are achieved in the British Isles. When England, in the days of Pitt, was contending with France for the possession of America, the "Great Commoner" said he "would conquer America in Germany." It has been the way of an overruling Providence to make many conquests for the heavenly kingdom in the United States by operations of grace in Great Britain. It was so in 1858, when the great revival throughout the English-speaking world did so much for our perturbed country, then on the verge of the greatest and most terrible civil war that human history has ever recorded.

But while indirect benefits of the highest value to the republic came from the revival across the sea, they were far less than the direct and immediate results of the great meetings within its own borders. In his "Handbook of Revivals" Rev. Henry C. Fish, D.D., gives a pen picture of the work, which he extracted from one of the religious journals of March, 1858. It is so vivid and comprehensive that no apology is needed for its incorporation into this narrative. The writer says: "Such a time as the present was never known since the days of the apostles for revivals. The prostration of business, the downfall of Mammon—the great god of worship to the multitudes in this land, both in and out of the Church—the sinfulness and vanity of earthly treasures as the supreme good, have come home to the hearts and consciences of the millions in our land with a power that seems irresistible. Revivals now cover our very land, sweeping all before them as on the day of Pentecost, exciting the earnest and simultaneous cry from thousands, 'What shall we do to be saved?' They have taken hold of the community at large to such an extent that now they are the engrossing theme of conversation in all circles of society. Ministers seem

baptized with the Holy Ghost, and preach with new power and earnestness, bringing the truth home to the conscience and life as rarely before. Meetings are held for prayer, for exhortation, and for conversion, with the deepest interest and the most astonishing results. Not only are they held in the church and from house to house, but in the great marts of trade and centers of business. Halls are selected, where men may leave their worldly cares for an hour, and by multitudes, without form or ceremony, drop in, fall on their knees and pray, with a few words of exhortation and entreaty, and then go about their usual business. In New York there is a most astonishing interest in all the Churches, seeming as if that great and populous and depraved city were enveloped in one conflagration of divine influence. Union prayer meetings are held in the principal centers, and here thousands on thousands gather daily. Prayer and conference meetings are held in retired rooms connected with large commercial houses, and with the best effects. The large cities and towns generally, from Maine to California, are sharing in this great and glorious work. There is hardly a village or town to be found where a special divine power does not

appear to be displayed. It really seems as if the millennium were upon us in its glory."

The great work so glowingly described in this pen picture is not exaggerated by the writer. A crisis was at hand, and a great revival was the supreme need of the hour. It came, and from it issued benefits of unspeakable value to the republic. Religion was invigorated, and the nation strengthened in advance of the perilous shock to the whole civil system which was so near at hand.

The working forces of the Churches were immeasurably increased. The revival of 1858 inaugurated in some sense the era of lay work in American Christianity. Wesley's system of class leaders, exhorters, and local preachers had done much at an earlier date in the same direction, but now the layman's day fully dawned on all the Churches. No new doctrine was brought forward, but a new agency was brought to bear in spreading the old truth through the efforts of men who, if they could not interpret the Scriptures with precision or train souls to perfection, could at least help inquiring sinners to find the Lord by relating how they themselves had found him. Since Christianity is a religion of experience, this lay element was a

power in the Apostolic Church, of whom were St. Stephen and St. Luke. But it dropped out of the Church when Christianity, ceasing to be an experience, was practiced only as a pompous system of priestcraft or taught as an abstruse philosophy of religion. It now returned in the regeneration of a nation.

And Christian unity was again promoted, as it had been by the great awakening, by the Wesleyan revival, and by the revival of 1800. When men come to know what are the essential truths of Christianity, and to realize these truths in personal experience, strife about non-essentials perishes as if scorched by the breath of the Almighty.

Furthermore, a heavy blow was delivered against the spirit of mammon. The panic of 1857 revealed the vanity of earthly treasure, and the revival of 1858 emphasized the value of the true riches. The demands made by the claims of mercy and patriotism, during the war that followed so soon, were an exercise in benevolence which, coupled with the saving lessons of the revival that preceded it, did much to inaugurate that era of princely giving which has been current in the United States for the last thirty years. The poor and middle classes were

never so generous as they have been during the last forty years, and the opulent pour forth millions on every sort of benevolence. In the impoverished South, where the brunt of the conflict of arms fell, the post-bellum gifts of the poor exceed the ante-bellum generosity of the wealthy. In the opulent North, where the desolations of war scarcely went, the bestowment of millions upon philanthropy has become too common to excite surprise. The spirit of altruism is so all-pervasive that men who do not formally yield themselves to the authority of Christianity are unable to resist the constraining atmosphere which it has thrown around them. In thirty-two years (from 1871 to 1902) the benefactions to educational institutions alone in the United States have amounted to $291,059,209.

Again, the continuous revivals in the Southern States, from 1800 to 1860, culminating in the great revival of 1858–59, affected the negro population so benignly as to give security from insurrection during the war and great help in the solution of the "race problem" since 1865. Never in the history of the race were so many Africans brought to Christ; and, after all subtractions from this sum of good are made for the

faults and sins of the Afro-American people, it remains true that the sons of Ham have attained their highest elevation in the United States, and that the Christian Churches of the country have done the most and the best that has been done for them.

Among the best results of the revival of 1858 must be reckoned the fact that thousands of men of both the Federal and Confederate armies, who were appointed to die, were converted by it, as were also many thousands more who were destined to live and bless the country for many long years afterwards.

The piety which was illustrated in the lives of many general officers, and the consecration common among the rank and file, made possible those great revivals in the camps which so relieved the gloom of the dark days of the sixties, and all was in a great measure the outcome, or perhaps we should say the continuation, of the great revival, which some have supposed was interrupted by the beginning of hostilities. In that most interesting volume entitled "Christ in the Camp" Rev. J. William Jones, D.D., a chaplain in the Army of Northern Virginia, gives a beautiful description of a typical scene in the Confederate army of Virginia. "Let us

go," he says, "some bright Sabbath morning, to that cluster of tents in the grove across the Massaponax, not far from Hamilton's Crossing. Seated on the rude logs, or on the ground, may be seen fifteen hundred or two thousand men, with upturned faces, eagerly drinking in the truths of the gospel. That reverent worshiper that kneels in the dust during prayer, or listens with sharpened attention and moist eyes as the preacher delivers his message, is our beloved Commander in Chief, General Robert E. Lee; that devout worshiper who sits at his side, gives his personal attention to the seating of the multitude, looks so supremely happy as he sees the soldiers thronging to hear the gospel, and listens so attentively to the preaching, is 'Stonewall' Jackson; those 'wreaths and stars' which cluster around are worn by some of the most illustrious generals of that army; and all through the congregation the 'stars and bars' mingle with the rough garb of the unknown heroes of the rank and file who never quail amid the lead and iron hail of battle, but who are not ashamed to tremble under the power of God's truth. I need not say that this is Jackson's headquarters, and the scene I have pictured one of frequent occurrence." In the course of his narrative

Chaplain Jones shows how the most glorious revivals swept through whole regiments, brigades, divisions, corps, and the entire Army of Northern Virginia.

The venerable Bishop John C. Keener, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, testifies to similar conditions among the Confederate forces of the West. In a recent letter he writes: "Having been appointed Superintendent of Chaplains on the western side of the Mississippi, I know whereof I speak. Before and after an engagement our camp fires were the place of song and thanksgiving, and many were converted who still attest that God was with us."

No competent hand has yet undertaken to do for the history of the revivals in the Federal armies what Dr. Jones has done in "Christ in the Camp" for the history of "religion in Lee's army;" but it is well known that great works of grace were wrought among them also. The Christian Commission was an organization created to provide for the spiritual and temporal care of the soldiers of the Union armies, and it is a matter of record that it expended $6,264,607 on its work, above one million of this large sum being spent for Bibles, Testaments, books, religious periodicals, and other publications. Who

will dare affirm that such great things would have been possible if the revival of 1858 had not preceded the war? Who can imagine what good was accomplished by them, and what evils were averted?

Dreadful as was the shock of war to the republic, and sorrowful as were the conditions which followed that bloody four years' conflict, it cannot be justly denied that the revival which preceded it, and which was continued on the tented fields of the South, did nevertheless break the force of the shock of the strife, softened the rigors of the reconstruction era, and hastened the day of national reconciliation in which all sections now rejoice. Never in the history of mankind was a civil war followed so quickly by a reconciliation so genuine and so perfect. The prostrate South and the prosperous North came speedily together, and the federal Union was restored to its former supremacy. The liberated slaves set about the tasks of freedom in peaceable and affectionate relations to their former masters, while the opulent treasures of Northern philanthropy and the hardly earned taxes of Southern whites were bestowed in abundance upon their education. While here and there were found in both the

the North and the South irreconcilable Bourbons, the greatest leaders were quick to preach the tenets of peace, and the uncorrupted masses followed willingly the guidance of men of good will. The men of arms and the men of prayer, who were generally identical, were prompt to discern the obligations of brotherhood and to set their hearts on nobler things than strife and contention.

When the war was over, and General Robert E. Lee went to take charge of Washington University, at Lexington, Va., he said to Rev. Dr. White, the venerable pastor of the Presbyterian Church: "I shall be disappointed, sir, I shall fail in the leading object that brought me here, unless these young men become real Christians." To Dr. Jones, of the Baptist Church, he said: "Our great want is a revival which shall bring these young men to Christ." It is to such a spirit of faith, in the North and in the South, among the masses of the people and in the hearts of most of their leaders—a spirit inspired and fostered by great revivals before, during, and after the Civil War—that the Great Republic owes much of its present prosperity and peace. And upon the maintenance of this spirit of evangelical faith it must rely for the

more perfect reconciliation of alienated sections, the unification of the heterogeneous elements which compose its population, the subjugation of an ever-present and dangerous mammonism, the pacification of the discordant forces of industrialism, the correction of revolutionary tendencies, and its security amid the entanglements and perplexities of the international relations of a modern world power. This saving faith in the hearts of the people is the hope of the nation for the years to come, as it was its deliverance in the perilous period from 1860 to 1875.

VIII.

THE REVIVAL IN THE DAYS OF MOODY AND SANKEY.

Moody in speech and Sankey in song exercised a wider influence than any other two men upon the British people in the latter half of the last century. Sankey's hymns will hold first place in thousands of places of worship throughout the British Empire. They are sung much more constantly, and by a much greater number of people, than any other songs, with the one exception of the national anthem.—*W. T. Stead, in "The Americanization of the World."*

We suppose there is no question that Mr. Moody has done a marvelous work, both in Great Britain and America. There is a great deal of popular curiosity to know exactly what it was and how it was done. The remarkable thing about it seems to be that there was no remarkable thing about it, save the results. Not a revivalist, but an evangelist; not a stirrer up of excitement, but a calm preacher of Jesus Christ, Mr. Moody has talked, in his earnest, homely way, upon truths which he deemed essential to spiritual welfare, in this world and the next. Men went to hear him not only by thousands, but by tens of thousands. Not only the "common people heard him gladly," but very uncommon people—prime ministers, earls, duchesses, members of Parliament, members of Congress, doctors of the law, doctors of divinity, and clergymen by the hundred. All testified to the power of his preaching. The doubters were convinced, the wicked were converted, weary teachers of religion were filled with fresh courage and hopefulness, and there was a great turning of thoughts and hearts Godward.—*J. G. Holland, in "Everyday Topics."*

VIII.

THE REVIVAL IN THE DAYS OF MOODY AND SANKEY.

It has been frequently remarked that for over one hundred and fifty years great revivals in Great Britain and the United States have prevailed simultaneously. While the English-speaking nations have been rising to the commanding positions which they now occupy in the world, they have been blessed with great spiritual refreshings, as if Heaven were girding them with peculiar power for the fulfillment of a common mission and the achievement of a common destiny.

This remarkable feature of their history was repeated in a most striking manner by the revival in the days of Moody and Sankey—a movement which was, more than all that went before it, international in its scope and characteristics. Moody, the lay preacher, and Sankey, the gospel singer, were Americans, but their first conspicuous triumphs were accomplished in the British Isles, and their subsequent success

in their native land was made possible by their victories across the sea.

While these men did not in person touch as many points as did the leaders in the great revivals of the eighteenth century, they operated more effectively on great urban centers, and tarried longer in the cities visited by them. The press carried from these centers their sermons and their songs, until their evangelistic productions speedily came to be the property of the English-speaking world. The Atlantic cable, which had been laid since the close of the revival of 1858, flashed from continent to continent the news of the great meetings in London, Edinburgh, New York, and Brooklyn. All the new and speedy methods by which thought and events are in modern times so quickly communicated from point to point and from land to land became auxiliaries of the work. While all these powerful agents tended to extend with unprecedented swiftness the revival, the rapidly widening process through which it thus ran made it, both then and now, difficult to determine with precision its limits, or trace with accuracy its current. And this difficulty is enhanced by the fact that it followed so soon after the revival of 1858, and reproduced so many of

its features, that the two movements can scarcely be distinguished. Above a half century intervened between the great awakening and the great revival of 1800, and an equal interval elapsed between the latter and the revival of 1858. Between those great movements there was such a visible subsidence of spiritual life in the land that it is comparatively easy to mark their beginnings and their terminations; but, as we have seen, the revival of 1858 did not disappear, as did its predecessors. It did not cease with the beginning of the war between the States, but poured its flood into the armies, and with almost undiminished flow swept on through the period of hostilities. Indeed, in one phase of it, we may say it was absolutely promoted by the war. The spirit of Christian unity between the various Churches, which became so conspicuous at the beginning of the revival of 1858, was advanced by the labors of chaplains on the tented field and by the results of their ministry there. A minister in charge of the religious work in a regiment composed of men drawn from all denominations learned lessons of catholicity and acquired habits of fraternity which cannot be attained so readily in any other situation. Moreover, the men under his care

imbibed a sense of brotherly comradeship not otherwise possible.

When the cruel war was over, this spirit was stronger in the Churches than when the fratricidal strife began. The common sorrows of all the people, their common trials and struggles, and, above all, the influences which sprang from the revivals on the tented field, conspired to suppress the evils of sectarianism and to open the way for denominational coöperation to a degree never before possible in our country. From these springs there issued a current of Christian unity which flowed with a resistless tide through the meetings of Moody and Sankey. Perhaps it would be correct to say of the period now under consideration that the revival of 1858 flowed into and through the Civil War like a powerful and purifying river through the dark waters of a turbid lake, and on the farther side of the dreadful conflict issued in the revivalistic current visible in the days of Moody and Sankey. It is quite certain that Moody's religious work during the war led to much of his evangelistic labors afterwards, and that the experiences of the bloody struggle colored both his sermons and Sankey's songs. The tenderness of his appeals, which so mightily moved the

multitudes whom he addressed, is largely traceable to his compassionate ministries to the wounded and the dying and the imprisoned when he was engaged in the service of the Christian Commission, and many of his most effective illustrations were drawn from the thrilling experiences of those days.

In order to get a clear view of his ministry and of the great revival in which he was the chief leader, it is necessary to glance at his earlier history. He was born in Northfield, Mass., February 5, 1837; but after spending a few days of his youth in commercial engagements in Boston, he was drawn into the great westward current of the fifties, and landed in Chicago in September, 1855. He carried with him his Church letter and a recommendation to an honorable firm. He was bent on both diligence in business and the service of the Lord, and threw himself immediately into his secular tasks and religious work with all the characteristic earnestness of his nature. He made religion his business and his business religious.

Soon he was found at the center of a zealous group of fervent spirits carrying on a mission in the North Market Hall. With no Church to support the enterprise, he pushed it through

countless obstacles to success. The hall was used on Saturday nights for dancing; and after the motley crowds who patronized the dancing dispersed, he and his associates were accustomed to spend the late hours of Saturday night and the early hours of Sunday morning in removing the sawdust, cleansing the floors, and putting the room in order for their services the next day. He was then, when he had barely attained his majority, exemplifying his method for reaching the masses, which in later years he tersely expressed in the motto, "Go for them." In this hall he conducted a mission Sunday school for six years, during which time it reached a membership of over one thousand. Finding it more and more difficult to hold prayer meetings or Sunday evening services in the market hall, he rented a room near by that had been used for a saloon, in which about two hundred persons could be seated, boarded up the side windows, and furnished it with seats made of unpainted pine boards. In that plain and ill-furnished room he gathered the poor and the vicious, and sought by melting appeals and fervent prayers to win them from vice and godlessness to virtue and piety.

He identified himself with the work of the

Young Men's Christian Association also, and soon became the president of the Association in Chicago. Under his administration a hall was built, which was named, from the chief contributor to the building fund, "Farwell Hall." This hall became through his zealous efforts a center of religious attraction to the entire city. The building was burned in the winter of 1868, but under his leadership another was speedily erected in its place. Meanwhile he carried on his mission and Church work with undiminished zeal and with ever-increasing success. Besides all this, he gave much time to the work of religious conventions, to evangelistic work outside the city of Chicago, and to the service of the Christian Commission in the army. He was the president of the Chicago branch of the Commission, George H. Stuart, of Philadelphia, with whom in after years he labored in the great meetings in the "City of Brotherly Love," being the president of the general organization. Ten times he went to the front with supplies for the wounded bodies of the soldiers and with healing messages of the gospel for their souls. He visited also the Confederate soldiers who were prisoners at Camp Douglas, showing them the tender love of a

brother and preaching to them sermons under which not a few were converted. All this time his support was guaranteed by no society nor assured by any person. Railroad authorities passed him free over their lines, generous merchants quietly paid his board and provided for his wardrobe, although he never then, or subsequently during the years of his celebrity, solicited a dollar for himself. Nor did he ever show an itching palm. After his marriage appreciative friends, who knew the value and the unselfishness of the work he had been doing, surprised him and his devoted wife by leading them one day into an elegant home near the scenes of his early mission work, and conveying to him a perpetual lease to the property. But the great fire of 1871 swept away the house and sent them out again among the homeless.

Undismayed by his moneyless condition and undiscouraged by the great disaster to the city, he set about at once the erection of a humble shed or tabernacle on the ruins of his mission, and there gathered the scattered flock, fed and clothed and comforted them, and preached to them the gospel that saves and soothes. And Sankey, whom he had met at the International Convention of the Young Men's Christian As-

sociation, held at Indianapolis in 1870, helped him.

Moody was a Congregationalist from Northfield, Mass., and Sankey was a Methodist from Edenburg, Pa.; but when they met at the convention Moody felt that he had found the partner in Christian work whom he had been wishing and waiting for. Sankey yielded to his call, dissolved the associations of years' standing, yoked himself to the great lay preacher, and went forth to the peculiar work to which they felt impelled by the Spirit. For six months they labored together in Chicago, carrying on and enlarging the mission work which Moody had been doing for years before Sankey joined him, in 1870. The great fire came in 1871 and laid the city in ruins. The fire began on Sunday evening, when they were holding a great meeting in Farwell Hall. When the alarm struck Sankey was singing the hymn, "To-Day the Saviour Calls," etc. The next day, having lost all that he had, even the opportunity of service in Chicago as it seemed, the devoted musician started back to his former home, in Pennsylvania, telling Moody, however, that he was willing to return when needed, and that he would hold himself in read-

iness to come on call. In three months Moody telegraphed him, "Come at once," and he came without hesitation or delay. Together they then entered on the work, philanthropic and religious, which was done in the New Tabernacle for the homeless thousands who flocked around them. In the autumn of that year Sankey removed his family to Chicago, and Moody went on a short visit to England. While the lay preacher was abroad the gospel singer, alone and unaided, carried on the work of the Tabernacle. During the year 1872 they together continued the enterprise.

In the spring of 1873 they were invited by three English gentlemen to visit their country and hold meetings. They were promised no compensation, and yet, being persuaded that it was the will of God that they should go, they accepted the invitation and went. They began at Liverpool, Moody armed with his Bible and Sankey equipped with his organ and song book. They accomplished but little, and after a few days they proceeded toward York, to find the friends who invited them over. Two of the men had died before their arrival; but, with undaunted faith, the American evangelists secured a place to hold their services and went to work. They

remained there for a month, and two hundred people were converted—the first fruits of their toil in Britain.

From York they went to Sunderland, on the invitation of a Baptist minister, the Rev. Arthur Rees. The other ministers of the city generally hesitated or opposed the work at its beginning there. At length they were invited by a committee of the Young Men's Christian Association to conduct a meeting in Victoria Hall. The work in Sunderland was greater than that at York, but it was not satisfactory to Moody, and from there they proceeded to Newcastle-on-Tyne, by invitation of the ministers who came over to see the work at Sunderland. They were cordially received by both the preachers and the people of Newcastle, and at the outset of the work Moody said: "We have not done much in York and Sunderland, because the ministers opposed us; but we are going to stay in Newcastle until we make an impression and live down the prejudices of good people who do not understand us." And they did.

They began in Newcastle at the Rye Hill Baptist Church, but after three weeks the crowds were larger than the building could contain, and services were then begun in Music Hall also;

Moody and Harry Moorhouse, a converted prize-fighter, of Manchester, England, preaching, and Sankey singing the "wonderful words of life." Multitudes were converted and all the Churches revived. Thence they went, in the early part of November, to Stockton-on-Tees, and from there they proceeded to the border town of Carlisle. At that point, where Englishmen and Scotchmen used to meet in deadly feuds, great victories for the Prince of Peace were won by them. The days of discouragement now gave place to continuous triumphs, as the fame of their meetings spread on all sides.

Reports of the work reached Edinburgh, and Rev. Mr. Kelman went twice from there to Newcastle to see if the reports were true. He saw the meetings, and, like the good Barnabas when he "had seen the grace of God" at Antioch (Acts xi. 23), "was glad." The story that Mr. Kelman told when he returned induced ministers and laymen to unite in a petition to the evangelists to come to Edinburgh. The invitation thus extended was accepted, and they began to work there in Music Hall on November 23, 1873. They met with success at the outset, two thousand people attending the first service, and other thousands going away because

there was not room for them in the hall. A meeting for students was also appointed in the Free Assembly Hall. That overflowed, and Mr. Moody went out and addressed a multitude in the open air, and then returned and spoke to two thousand within, the most eminent professors of the university sitting around him on the platform. Special services for the poorest and most abject classes were held. The daily prayer meetings at noon were attended by more than a thousand people every day for weeks together. Gathered around the pulpit at the evening hour were ministers of all denominations and from all parts of the country, while in the audience were persons of the nobility, professors from the university, distinguished lawyers, and members of Parliament. Meetings were held in Broughton Place Church, Tolbooth Church, the Established Church Assembly Hall, the Free High Church, the Corn Exchange, Free St. George's Church, and at many other places in the city. On Sunday Moody spoke seven times, and it was estimated that not less than fifteen thousand people heard the gospel from his lips that day. He addressed special discourses to the students of Edinburgh University and the New College.

The evangelists remained in Edinburgh nearly two months, and during that time they won over fifteen hundred souls to Christ and his Church.

Then they visited Berwick-on-Tweed, and then spent a few days in Dundee, where every evening for a week ten thousand to sixteen thousand persons assembled in the open air (though it was midwinter) to hear the gospel of salvation.

February 8, 1874, they opened their evangelistic campaign in Glasgow, where at 9 o'clock Mr. Moody addressed three thousand Sunday school teachers and other Christian workers, assembled in the City Hall. As the meetings continued the crowds became so great that it was necessary to hold separate services for men and women, and even then no building could be found in the city large enough to hold the divided congregations. Again and again as many as one thousand inquirers remained after the sermon, desiring personal instruction in the way of life. The Crystal Palace, the largest assembly hall in Scotland, was eventually opened for the services, and it too was found insufficient to accommodate the multitudes. Whereupon Moody left Sankey and several ministers to con-

duct the service inside the Palace, while he went outside and addressed the crowd, that filled the whole space between the Palace and the Botanic Gardens. The throng within and without, it was estimated, exceeded twenty thousand. After three months of toil and victory, the evangelists turned their faces northward, and, after revisiting Edinburgh and Dundee for a few days, they proceeded to Elgin, Aberdeen, and Craig Castle. At these points scenes of the same triumphant sort were re-enacted.

They spent six months laboring at all these centers in Scotland—centers at which mighty revivals had been witnessed during the eighteenth century, and under the ministry of the Haldanes in 1800—and then they went to Ireland, and began work in Belfast September 6, 1874. The meetings had a good commencement, and from the first the churches were so crowded that the expedient was adopted of dividing the services between the men and the women, the services for the latter being held at 2 o'clock, and for the former at 8 o'clock. The largest churches were filled at these divided meetings, with congregations varying from fifteen hundred to two thousand. Open-air meetings were held, attend-

ed by numbers variously reckoned at from ten thousand to twenty thousand people, the greatest meeting being held in the Botanic Gardens on October 8. Then they went to Derry for five days, after which they returned to Belfast for a final meeting before passing on to Dublin. The number of those converted at Belfast was estimated at more than three thousand, and the meeting lasted only about five weeks.

They spent the month, from October 26 to November 29, in Dublin. The meetings were held in the Exhibition Palace, said to hold ten thousand people, and every night it was filled. Multitudes came from all over the island. The whole city was moved, even the Roman Catholics treating with the utmost respect the great work. The newspaper called the *Nation*, an organ of the Nationalists and the Romanists, said in an editorial: "The deadly danger of the age comes upon us from the direction of Huxley and Darwin and Tyndall rather than from Moody and Sankey. Irish Catholics desire to see Protestants imbued with religious feeling rather than tinged with rationalism and infidelity; and as long as the religious services of our Protestant neighbors are honestly directed to quickening religious thought in their own body, without of-

fering aggressive or intentional insult to us, it is our duty to pay the homage of our respect to their conscientious convictions; in a word, to do as we would be done by."

In Catholic Dublin, where there were only about forty thousand Protestants (about one-sixth of the total population), there were in these meetings, which lasted no longer than one month and three days, over two thousand conversions.

From Dublin they went to Manchester, England. They were now no longer the unknown Americans who received at first so poor a hearing in Liverpool and York, but "brethren beloved and longed for" by thousands who had not yet seen their faces in the flesh, but who had heard of the wonderful works of divine grace wrought in them and through them during the meetings in Scotland and Ireland. The services began in the Free Trade Hall, and the capacious building was densely crowded with people from the first. Long before the hour appointed hundreds found it impossible to get so much as standing room within the hall. As the good work proceeded, services were held in Oxford Hall and Cavendish Chapel, which were also too small for the numbers who sought to

enter them. The meetings continued nearly a month, closing in the last days of the year 1874. While the work was in progress every house in Manchester was visited and the invitation of the gospel extended to all the people.

One of the results accomplished was the raising of $150,000 for the purchase of a building in Peter Street for the Young Men's Christian Association. At a meeting held in furtherance of this object Herbert Spencer presided, and, after an inspiring address by Mr. Moody, $9,000 was raised, the chairman of the meeting contributing several thousands of the amount.

On the last day of the year 1874 the evangelists made their appearance in Sheffield, England's great iron and steel center, with its quarter of a million inhabitants. The first meeting was held in Temperance Hall, and there the work opened most auspiciously. Subsequently Albert Hall was called into use, and the recent victory of Manchester was repeated in the added triumph of Sheffield. Ministers of the Established Church and those of the Free Churches sat together on the same platform, followed each other in prayer, and united in the most harmonious support of the great evangelical movement on behalf of the salvation of all the people.

From there they went to Birmingham, the constituency of John Bright and "the toy shop of the world." In this city of four hundred thousand people they remained from January 17 to January 29, preaching during their stay of twelve days to not less than one hundred and fifty thousand, according to the calculation made and published by the Birmingham *Morning News*. People came from London, from all the surrounding towns and country, and from Scotland and Ireland, to attend a convention of Christian workers held one day during the two weeks.

And in this connection it should be remarked that in all the meetings held in Great Britain, as well as in the meetings held subsequently in the United States, Mr. Moody gave particular and careful attention to the instruction and preparation of lay workers to carry on the work of evangelization through all the Churches. Unlike Wesley, he organized no Church; and unlike Whitefield, he made careful provision for the preservation of the fruits of his toil.

The meetings in Birmingham were carried on at three places—Town Hall, Carr's Lane Chapel, and Bingley Hall. The number of conversions was estimated at about two thousand.

They stayed exactly one month in Liverpool, the next city visited, beginning there on February 7, and continuing until March 7. Before they came a building sufficiently large to seat eight thousand persons had been erected, and named "Victoria Hall." But even it was not enough for the needs of the occasion, and Newsome's Circus and the concert room of St. George's Hall were used for a number of services. At a meeting in Newsome's Circus, attended by seven thousand young men, the speaker was Henry Drummond, thereafter a lifelong friend of Moody and a man of great value to the cause of Christ in Great Britain and America. Participating in the work of evangelizing Liverpool at this time was another man of great usefulness to the Churches on both sides of the water—W. H. M. Aitkin, of the Anglican Church, who did much to introduce evangelistic methods in the Churches of the Establishment. He was at this time assisting the vicar of St. John's Church in the conduct of a meeting after the model of the Moody and Sankey services in Victoria Hall.

When the American evangelists came first to Liverpool, in 1873, it is not known if, through their labors, a single conversion was made; now,

two years later, the whole city was ablaze with revival fires, and thousands were brought to Christ. They had gone forth weeping, bearing precious seed; and now returned with joy, bringing their sheaves with them.

Before leaving Liverpool the corner stone of the new building for the Young Men's Christian Association was laid by Mr. Moody, and on it was this inscription: "This memorial stone was laid by D. L. Moody, of Chicago, 2d of March, 1875." He used a silver trowel presented to him for the occasion. During his stay in the city he was honored with every sort of attention and Christian courtesy.

What had brought so quickly this distinguished consideration to the lay preacher from Chicago? Nothing more than the simple preaching of the gospel in such an earnest, fervent way as to bring many souls to the Saviour. That was all, but that was quite enough to justify the honor accorded to him.

From March 9 to July 11, 1875, the evangelists were in London, where during those four months $150,000 was expended by generous men and women on the work of the revival.

During the first month the meetings were held in Agricultural Hall, the largest building in

North London. The audience at the first night's service numbered twenty thousand, and the doors had to be closed in the face of many hundreds for whom there was no room in the hall. As the work advanced, meetings were held in every section of the great metropolis—at Agricultural Hall, Sanger's Amphitheater, Exeter Hall, Conference Hall at Mildmay Park, St. Mary's Hall, Bow-road Hall, the Royal Opera House in the Haymarket, and Camberwell Hall in South London. During the campaign of four months there were held at these places two hundred and eighty-five services attended by more than a million and a half persons. All classes were reached, from the highest to the lowest. Lord Radstock, the Earl of Shaftesbury, and Dean Stanley often occupied seats on the platform, and the two former took active part in the services. Among those who attended were a great number of the nobility, including members of the royal family, in the persons of the Duke and Duchess of Teck, and the Princess of Wales, now the Queen of England. It was said that the Royal Opera House was secured for the use of the evangelists through the effort of Lord Dudley, and that he was encouraged to make the effort by no less a personage than the Prince

of Wales, the present reigning sovereign. Moody and Sankey divided their time and labors about equally between the East and West Ends, and for the services at other points they were assisted by William Taylor (afterwards a Missionary Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church), Henry Varley, Major Cole, Henry Drummond, W. H. M. Aitkin, and others of less note.

At the end of the last service the Earl of Shaftesbury made a brief address concerning "what had occurred during the past four months," declaring that he "did so with the deepest sense of gratitude to God that he had raised up a man with such a message and to be delivered in such a manner." He warmly testified to the wide extent and great depth of the work.

It is certain that London and all the region round about had not been so profoundly affected in the nineteenth century, if ever.

Leaving London, where they had triumphed so gloriously, the American evangelists departed for Liverpool with their faces set toward their own country. At Liverpool they held several services in Victoria Hall before their departure for America. In the course of these services

frequent and grateful allusion by various persons of note were made to the great and blessed results of their evangelistic campaign, of two years' duration, in the cities and towns of Great Britain. From such testimonies of the kind as have been preserved we may get an idea of the extent and excellence of the work done by the evangelists. The Rev. W. H. M. Aitkin said: "The blessing which God has been pleased to shower upon his work in various parts of the land had put them on vantage ground, for they occupied a better position now than ever before in this land. He did not believe that the Church of God had ever occupied a better position in this land than it did at the present moment." Dr. Stalker, of Edinburgh, said that "he felt the last two years had been years of great importance to the whole country, and would be remembered for many years to come as great years. One thing that had made them interesting and memorable was that religion had been made respected among the young men of the country. Young men had been apt to look down upon evangelical religion; but in the part he came from they dare not do that now, because in all classes of the community the very strongest of these young men had been won to

Christ, and they were bearing themselves so in the ordinary business of life that it was impossible for those around them not to respect them. . . . At the University of Edinburgh last April there were only six or seven men who won first class honors, and three of these were conspicuous in this work. Only one man got what was called a 'double first,' and that man he had heard addressing these revival meetings. That was the kind of revival of religion they were having now; and he thanked God for it with all his heart." Mr. Alexander Balfour spoke at the final service, saying among other things: "I do not know that I am the proper person, on behalf of this audience, to say good-by to our dear friends, but I feel that there must be some mouthpiece to express to them our real sentiments. We thank them from the bottom of our hearts for what they have done here. Unless Mr. Moody had been a man like a cannon ball for hardness of material, directness of aim, and persistence of purpose, he could never have accomplished what he has done. His wisdom has been conspicuous in discovering this—that our young men in Liverpool and elsewhere in this country have been greatly neglected. He has been wise also in choosing

them to be, for the future, not merely the recipients of God's grace but the distributers of it. I do feel that he has been very wise in bestowing so much attention upon our young men. Many know that Liverpool has been a curse to thousands of young men. They have come here and have been led into all kinds of evil courses of life. How many broken hearts are in this country because of the mischief done to young men in Liverpool! On behalf of the mothers and sisters of this country, I wish to give Mr. Moody the most heartfelt expression of thanks that it is in my power to convey; and on behalf of thousands who shall be influenced by the young men in Liverpool, I wish to express to him a tribute of gratitude for what he has done."

The meetings over, the evangelists went aboard the *Spain*, which steamed away for America, while thousands stood upon the shore singing "Safe in the arms of Jesus" and "Work, for the night is coming," as the vessel passed out of sight, bearing away the lay preacher and the gospel singer to their native land, where other great victories were shortly to be achieved.

Thus ended the meetings in Great Britain.

When it is remembered that during the decade from 1875–85 there came to the United States 4,061,278 immigrants, most of whom were from the British Isles, the value of the Moody-Sankey meetings in those lands to the Great Republic will be appreciated. How many of Liverpool's homeless young men came to America during that decade, no man can state. Many were prepared to come by the services of the American preacher and singer.

When the evangelists reached America they took a few weeks for rest, after which they began a meeting in Brooklyn. It was arranged that the services should be held in the Rink on Clermont Avenue and in Talmage's Tabernacle. There they began October 24, 1875. They were met by the warmest interest from the outset, and their phenomenal work in Great Britain heightened public expectation of similar results in the United States.

The morning services were begun at half past eight o'clock, but before six people began to gather at the doors. At eight over five thousand persons were seated in the building, and three thousand or more had been turned away for lack of standing room. In the afternoon twelve thousand sought and could not find

room in the building, and meetings were appointed in neighboring churches to accommodate them. And so for nearly a month the evangelists saw reënacted in their own land the marvelous scenes which they had witnessed in the British Isles. Multitudes flocked to hear them and thousands were converted.

From Brooklyn they proceeded to Philadelphia, where they began their labors November 21, 1875, in a freight depot on the corner of Thirteenth and Market Streets, which had been arranged as the central place of service. Seats for twelve thousand people were provided—as many as it was supposed the voice of the preacher could reach. But the Depot Tabernacle soon proved inadequate, and meetings were appointed for other places. Ministers of all denominations united in the work, and people of all classes attended the services, drawn not only from within the limits of the city but from all the region of country accessible to Philadelphia. The President of the United States, General Grant, came over from Washington with a distinguished party to inspect the preparations for the approaching Centennial Exposition, and while in the city the entire party attended the meeting and occupied seats upon the platform.

The President was deeply impressed by Sankey's singing, and Mr. Blaine pronounced Mr. Moody a most wonderful man.

In the meeting Mr. Moody had the assistance of some notable laymen—William E. Dodge, of New York; George H. Stuart, whom he had known in connection with the work of the Christian Commission; John Wanamaker; and his friend Hon. John V. Farwell, of Chicago. Sankey was helped in the music by W. C. Fischer, a composer and singer conspicuous among that large group of musicians who during the latter half of the nineteenth century developed a new type of devotional and Sunday school songs, among whom may be mentioned also P. P. Bliss, W. B. Bradbury, Philip Phillips, H. R. Palmer, A. B. Everett, Rigdon M. McIntosh, W. H. Doane, William J. Kirkpatrick, and John R. Sweney.

The evangelists tarried in Philadelphia nine weeks, addressing audiences larger than had ever been gathered there since Whitefield preached on Society Hill and the courthouse stairs. The harvest of souls was very great, especially among the unchurched classes. Mr. Moody was dissatisfied with the results of the meetings in Brooklyn because professing Chris-

tians crowded the places of worship, to the exclusion of the unconverted. In Philadelphia he took particular care that this mistake should not be repeated, and the results were "more than satisfactory," "positively surprising," as he said. Before the meetings closed it was not uncommon for the people to begin coming to the Depot Tabernacle as early as five o'clock in the morning, and the most wretched and forlorn classes were savingly reached.

During the continuance of the meetings Mr. Moody made an appeal for funds for the completion of the Young Men's Christian Association building, then in course of erection, and secured one hundred thousand dollars in a very few minutes. But he asked nothing for himself and his associate in the revival work. In connection with his appeal for the Young Men's Christian Association, he said that he desired it to be distinctly understood that they were receiving no money from the committee who arranged for the meetings, and that they declined to have any collections taken up in their meetings. As to the photographs of himself and Sankey that had been sold in the city, they had no interest in them, and for eight years he had refused to have any taken. It was true, he said,

that there was a royalty on the hymn books used in the services, but the money from that source was paid over to a committee consisting of Mr. George H. Stuart, of Philadelphia, Mr. William E. Dodge, of New York, and Mr. J. V. Farwell, of Chicago. He did not know what had been realized from the sale of the books in Philadelphia, but in order to satisfy any one that no money had been made out of the meetings the committee would give one thousand dollars to the building fund for which he was then making appeal.

From Philadelphia they went to Princeton on the invitation of President McCosh, extended at the request of the students of the university. And so they came into the place sanctified by the labors of Jonathan Edwards and the Tennents more than a century before. Their stay in Princeton was brief, but fruitful of great good. The work there had been undertaken during the week of prayer before they came, and when they left Princeton fully one-fifth of the five hundred students in the university at that time had been converted and the entire body of students was seriously impressed on the subject of personal salvation. From that influential center, as had been the case more

than a hundred years before in the days of the Tennents, a gracious influence went out over all the land as students wrote of the work to friends and kindred at various points.

Afterwards they proceeded to New York, where the old depot of the Harlem Railroad had been made ready for their use, at a cost of $10,000. It had been divided into two great halls, one seating six thousand five hundred and the other four thousand. A wide space between the two halls had been inclosed for inquiry rooms, and a convenient passageway had been arranged between these rooms and the larger halls. The place occupied a block, bounded by Fourth Avenue, Madison Avenue, Twenty-Sixth Street, and Twenty-Seventh Street. It was the scene of Barnum's great pageant, and subsequently of Gilmore's famous concerts. In this "hippodrome" they continued preaching and singing until April 19, 1876, assisted by such notable men and ministers as Dr. John Hall, Dr. Charles F. Deems, Dr. Armitage, Dr. William M. Taylor, and the venerable Dr. Plummer, of South Carolina. The meetings were attended by people of every class and description—mechanics, merchants, professional men, clerks, bankers, and men of science and litera-

ture. Among those who came were such men as Samuel J. Tilden, Cyrus Field, Thurlow Weed, and Dr. J. G. Holland, at that time the editor of *Scribner's Magazine.*

Special attention was paid to the young men of the city and to the neglected classes not usually found in the churches.

The number of converts made was estimated at five thousand, of whom, at the close of the meeting, over two thousand had already been received into the various Churches of the city. How many were received in Churches away from New York, of course, could not be ascertained.

Large sums were raised during the meetings for the Young Men's Christian Association and for other enterprises designed to rescue the young from sin and to save the outcast multitudes from despair. The commercial metropolis of the nation was never so moved religiously, and from it saving influences went forth throughout the land.

Six days after the close of the work in New York Moody joined his friend Whittle, of Chicago, in a short but effective meeting at Augusta, Ga. He was as warmly received in the South as he had been in the North, and as he

returned northward addressed great audiences at Nashville, Tenn., Louisville, Ky., St. Louis and Kansas City, Mo.

Thence he returned to Chicago, where he was the guest of his true and tried friend John V. Farwell, who had helped him from the days of his first humble efforts at city mission work to the time when he was moving with wondrous power the largest congregations in both the Old and the New World. He at once set about removing the indebtedness on his old church in Chicago Avenue, which being done, he sought for a time rest and recuperation for his overworked mind and body.

We have thus followed the great evangelists through all their work and wandering on both sides of the Atlantic for three years. When they began they were scarcely known beyond the limits of Chicago and the acquaintance of a small circle of friends in the Eastern States and a few men in England. At the end of their three years' tour they had addressed millions of people assembled in churches, halls, and the open air, and their songs and sermons had been carried on the wings of the press all over the world. In newspapers and cheap volumes Moody's sermons were now being sold every-

where—on the streets, on the railway trains, at the news depots—and to all classes of readers. Sankey had also by this time brought to pass a style of religious music second only to the hymns of the Wesleys for popularity and power. While not so elevated in thought nor so finished in form as the hymns of the Wesleys, "the gospel hymns" of "the Moody and Sankey period" have an adaptation to the young and to the untrained masses that gives them a transient if not a permanent place of great importance and value to the work of the evangelical Churches of the English-speaking world.

In subsequent years, at various times and places, these two mighty men labored together, notably in a second visit to England in 1882, when they held large meetings at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, with the hearty coöperation of many officials and dignitaries of the Church of England. The services were very remarkable. Many students were very deeply impressed, and a number of them, including some of the highest standing, devoted themselves to evangelistic and missionary work.

Mr. Moody directed also the evangelistic campaign which was carried on in Chicago during

the World's Fair, in the year 1893. His first meeting in Philadelphia preceded the great Centennial Exposition of 1876, and now his last evangelistic effort was bestowed on his beloved Chicago when it was crowded with visitors from every land and clime. His chief care in his later years was the prosecution of his work of evangelical education at his old home in Northfield, Mass. The Moody Bible Institute in Chicago, in which Christian workers receive training for the kind of work to which Mr. Moody gave his life, is also an admirable and appropriate monument to his memory.

But for the purposes of this discussion it is not necessary to give further details of the labors of the great lay preacher and the charming gospel singer. When they began their first tour they found a considerable revival influence gone abroad before them, so that they went forth in response to invitations extended by men whose hearts were already aflame with zeal. They had also the advantage of the most careful and costly preparations made for their coming to the great cities of the United Kingdom and America. They were welcomed and assisted by the most influential classes on both sides of the sea, as neither the Wesleys nor

Whitefield nor any others of those who preceded had ever been. Herein is seen conclusive proof of the permanent effect of the revivals of former times despite all declensions and backslidings, and striking evidence of the hopeful religious conditions that were already existing when the American evangelists started on their long campaign. The English-speaking world, still affected by the revival of 1858, was on the point of taking fire, and they were the providential men who struck the spark that started the blaze which waited only the touch of such hands to flame forth. They precipitated the revival, and then carried it to so great a height that eventually they were in the midst of a general movement of such elevation that their preeminence was scarcely perceptible above the common level of contemporaneous labors and laborers. A national revival would doubtless have come without their efforts, but it is equally certain that without their coming it would have been a far smaller and a very different movement.

There were certain characteristics of their work which imparted to all the evangelical movements of the time new vigor, and by which the religious life and social problems of America

have been influenced so widely and so benignly that we will do well to consider them.

Mr. Moody demonstrated the power of the Bible over all classes when used by a man who really believes it. He made by his own methods a careful study of the Holy Scriptures, and in his preaching he was most emphatically "a man of one book." Whether addressing the outcasts of London or New York, or the nobility and men of high estate; whether speaking to the unlettered masses or the university communities of Princeton, Edinburgh, and Oxford; whether seeking to comfort a penitent soul or convince a skeptical scorner—he relied upon the Bible for his arguments and his appeal, and he won all classes. Dr. J. G. Holland said tersely in an editorial in *Scribner's Magazine:* "Mr. Tyndall and Mr. Huxley and Mr. Herbert Spencer were not very much in men's minds while Mr. Moody was around. One thing was very certain—viz., the people wanted something that Mr. Moody had to bestow, and they 'went for it.'" The something which the people wanted and went for was the Word of God, unmixed with any philosophic theorizing or scientific dilutions, and preached without apology or misgiving, but with the authority of confident be-

lief. Like all the great revivalists, from Luther to the present time, Moody was intensely biblical.

While preaching in an untechnical manner, he was nevertheless a doctrinal preacher, and his doctrines were those of the orthodox Churches. He was not a liberal, nor did he boast of "a progressive orthodoxy." Liberalism has never produced a revival of religion, nor does it promise to do so at any early day. With the single exception of his views as to the millennium, the teachings of Mr. Moody were in line with the essential tenets of all the evangelical Churches. He never professed to bring to the attention of his hearers so much even as a rediscovered truth; he realized that Edwards, Whitefield, the Tennents, and the Wesleys had completed all that was required in that direction. He preached not "advanced thought" but the authoritative truths of an ancient revelation. His position was clearly set forth in a passage in one of his sermons, at Philadelphia, in which he said: "I have been asked, 'What is the use of these special meetings? Are there not churches enough? Are there not ministers enough and services enough and sermons enough?' Yes, if sermons alone could save sin-

ners, there have been enough preached to convert the whole of Christendom. We have only come to help you. In the time of harvest extra help is always needed, and, my friends, the harvest is here now." He had no mind to impeach the fidelity of the faithful sowers who had in tears gone forth bearing the precious seed; but he wished to aid them as they came with rejoicing, bringing their sheaves with them. He was the farthest possible removed from that style of "evangelism," so called, which goes through the land pouring forth from the depths of acidulated conceit all sorts of abusive accusations against the Churches and all manner of unsupported indictments of the ministry. He was a man of both common sense and piety.

Not living upon an income derived from his meetings (and greater or less according to the apparent success that attended his efforts), he was never tempted to lower the standard of religion to win the semblance of triumph, to corrupt doctrine to obtain popular favor and funds, nor to berate the Churches to secure the smiles and remuneration of a cynical, vindictive, and godless world, which stands ever ready to reward a man who will denounce the Church of God, against which it bears grudges of long

standing because of the Church's faithful rebuke of unrighteousness and iniquity. Bad men will bless and pay any misguided preacher who will help them to prove that the Church is a band of hypocrites, but such men could not engage Moody to prosecute this libelous indictment. He laid no traps for their approval or their purses. In short, he had none of the arts of the demagogue, for he was neither greedy of gain nor covetous of applause.

Moody answered the oft-repeated question how to reach the masses by his crisp saying, "Go for them." He reached the masses by going in reach of them. He had ample precedents in the methods of Jesus and the apostles, as well as in those of Wesley, Whitefield, and Finney. He applied the underlying principle of those precedents to the particular conditions that confronted him, and brought into prominence the halls and tabernacles into which it is easier to assemble the unchurched masses of the great cities than in the more stately and formal places of worship. In this he has been followed by such men as Hugh Price Hughes, Peter Thompson, and many others on both sides of the Atlantic. The method has been taken up by the British Wesleyans and pushed to great success

in large evangelistic establishments located in the heart of London and elsewhere. In these great, warm centers of vigorous evangelism they have put their strongest men, and backed those strong men with financial support running into the millions. We owe, however, the development of this method at the outset to Moody more than to any other one man. And with the growth of urban populations (a conspicuous feature of the present time) the evangelical Churches will have to make full proof of the ministry of the hall as well as of the gospel of the open air.

Incidentally to the ministry of Moody and Sankey, and growing out of it, were several marked and timely effects on the welfare of the Great Republic.

The influence of their sermons and songs, which breathed a spirit of unearthly tenderness and love, helped to heal the wounded spirits all over the country after the Civil War, when so many homes were bereaved. "What a Friend we have in Jesus!" went ringing over the land on the wings of every wind, and the friendless and forsaken took heart again, and the discouraged and despairing were cheered to renewed zeal and hope.

In their meetings the poor and neglected came in brotherly contact with the best among the rich and successful classes, and thereby confidence was inspired in the souls of the unfortunate and compassion in the hearts of the opulent, to the advantage of all parties. Their work, therefore, not only tended to heal the wounds of the war that was passed, but it did also tend to avert and forestall the perilous conflict of the irritable industrialism of the days that were to come. If in our country perfect success has not been realized in this direction, the partial failure is easily explained by the fact that disturbances between labor and capital have been most frequent in those industries in which the laborers have been brought from the unevangelized masses of Continental Europe, and the capital has been supplied by men who feared not God nor regarded man. There is peace where evangelical Christianity prevails, and this peace would extend to all classes and districts if the Churches had sufficiently practiced in brotherly zeal Moody's maxim, "Go for them," which is but the rough, Western translation of the words of Jesus: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." It is the gospel for all lands and all times, but especial-

ly for an age of industrialism. It is another form of John Wesley's enthusiastic declaration, "The world is my parish," and it is the antithesis of that effeminate, timid, and exclusive Christianity that selfishly dreams that its parish is the whole world. The gospel of Moody and Sankey was the exemplification of the saying of the Scripture: "The rich and the poor meet together: the Lord is the maker of them all." Their sermons and their songs were as popular and democratic as the gospel from which they arose. No paganism, in pulpit or choir, ever found for one moment a place in their methods and plans. They had advanced too far away from modish and maimed Christianity, too far from Buddhism and from all other systems of caste and priestcraft, too far from both foreign and domestic paganism, for that sort of trifling when the people came together to worship God, and not to have themselves played on by an æsthetic combination of declamation and Sunday opera, more or less religious in its nature. And the common people, who always know the difference between a real preacher and a mere performer, heard them gladly. What they accomplished in the way of soothing the irritations of the social sys-

tem, and of postponing if not preventing the worst industrial disorder, can scarcely be overestimated.

Like Whitefield, Finney, and Nettleton, who came before him, and like not a few who have come after him, Mr. Moody did much to bind together in the holiest and most potent bonds of sympathy the people of the United Kingdom and those of the Great Republic. And the songs of Charles Wesley and Ira Sankey are the hymns of evangelical Christendom. This unifying of the English-speaking race had more than a sentimental value in the Spanish-American War, and it is not improbable that it will have a still more conspicuous place among the instrumentalities of Providence for the redemption of the nations in the years at hand.

This treatment of "The Revival in the Days of Moody and Sankey" would be incomplete if no mention were made of those national and international conferences and councils which have become so common in the English-speaking world during the last fifty years, which have done so much to unify the Anglo-Saxon peoples. Besides the Evangelical Alliance (previously mentioned), at whose bidding the evangelical Churches of Christendom annually unite in a

"week of prayer," there are many others of scarcely less prominence and usefulness. There is the Young Men's Christian Association, with its national and international assemblies and world-wide efforts and enterprises. There is also that other undenominational organization, the International Sunday School Association, from which is derived the uniform system of Scripture lessons in which the evangelical Churches of the world unite in weekly study. And then there are the several denominational organizations, such as the Ecumenical Conference of the Methodists, the Pan-Anglican Council, and the Pan-Presbyterian Assembly, together with the meetings of the various societies of the young people of the Churches—all of which must tell for national unity and international federation. And, over and above all the rest, must be mentioned the Ecumenical Conference of Foreign Missions, of 1900, which was composed of delegates from all the Churches and societies engaged in such work throughout the earth; was presided over by ex-President Benjamin H. Harrison, a devout Presbyterian; was welcomed to the city and State of New York by Governor Theodore Roosevelt, a strenuous member of the Dutch Reformed Church;

and was greeted on behalf of the nation by President William McKinley, a fervent Methodist. This assembly was in session in the city of New York from April 21 to May 1, 1900—at the outset of the twentieth century—to concert plans for the evangelization of the world.

How changed the conditions in our country since the opening of the year 1800, when infidelity in the East and barbarism in the West threatened the life of religion and menaced the stability of the government! At the opening of the nineteenth century the followers of Voltaire gleefully supposed that the prediction of that high priest of doubt and prophet of despair, to the effect that in the next generation Christianity would be overthrown throughout the civilized world, was about to be fulfilled. Thomas Jefferson, the liberal, was the idol of the masses, and the Church of McKinley, the Methodist, had scarcely a foothold in the land. Aaron Burr was honored with high political station, and his cousin, the devout Timothy Dwight, was supposed to represent an expiring minority of credulous saints. But now, at the opening of the twentieth century, this convention of world-wide representation and world-encompassing enthusiasm sat down in the me-

tropolis of the Western World to confer with reference to the establishment of Christ's kingdom in all the earth; and a Methodist President bade them welcome to the shores of the most evangelical nation on the planet, while a Presbyterian moderator kept the body in order as its fervent proceedings went on. The names of some of the greatest men of the Anglo-Saxon race were enrolled among its members, and the spirit which breathed in every breast was that of a brotherhood of faith undisturbed by national jealousies or sectarian ambitions. They represented the highest thought and the noblest aspirations of the English-speaking nations, and all felt at home under the protection of the best government in the world.

What had brought the Great Republic to such a position of peace and power over a century-long journey beset with such fearful perils and grievous trials? Whatever else may have contributed to the safeguarding forces which helped to bring it triumphantly over the dangerous way, revivals of religion must be placed in the front rank. They magnified its securities, strengthened its defenses, and averted its perils.

IX.

EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANITY THE SECURITY OF THE GREAT REPUBLIC AND THE HOPE OF THE WORLD.

The hope of the Church is in revivals of religion—continued, powerful, general revivals.—*Dr. Noah Porter.*

This New World is probably now discovered, that the new and most glorious state of God's Church on earth might commence there; that God might in it begin a new world in a spiritual respect, when he creates the new heavens and the new earth.—*From the "Narrative of the Great Awakening," by Jonathan Edwards.*

There never has been good done in the world excepting by the faithful preaching of evangelical truth. From the days of the apostles down to this time, there have been no victories won, no spiritual successes obtained, except by the doctrines which wrought deliverance a hundred years ago. Where are the conquests of Neologianism and Tractarianism over heathenism, irreligion, immorality? Where are the nations they have Christianized, the parishes they have evangelized, the towns they have turned from darkness to light? You may well ask, Where? You will get no answer. The good that has been done in the world, however small, has always been done by evangelical doctrines; and if men who are not called "evangelical" have had successes, they have had them by using evangelical weapons.—*J. C. Ryle, D.D., Lord Bishop of Liverpool.*

I make no doubt that Methodism, notwithstanding all the wiles of Satan, is designed by Divine Providence to introduce the approaching millennium.—*Vincent Perronet, Vicar of Shoreham.*

IX.

EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANITY THE SECURITY OF THE GREAT REPUBLIC AND THE HOPE OF THE WORLD.

The welfare of the Great Republic and the religious condition of the world in the future are so intimately related that what secures the one vitally affects the other. In this age no nation liveth unto itself, and no nation can die alone—least of all the United States. All are members one of another, and national isolation is no longer possible.

Moreover, moral forces are always aggressive. They are intolerant of opposition, and by their very nature aspire to universal dominion. Hence a religion which is content to be the faith of a part only of the world confesses thereby its unfitness for the acceptance of any portion of mankind, and is a doomed and dying system. Wherefore as the nations, through the virtual annulling of the effects of time and space by the swift processes of modern communication, come closer and closer together, the earth must inevitably become more uniform in religion and moral government. A generation ago one of

the great statesmen of America declared that it was impossible for the United States to continue long with a part of them slaveholding States and part of them free-soil States. History has vindicated the soundness of his judgment. The ends of the earth are closer together at the present hour than were the extremities of our country in 1860, and the world must soon be all Christian or all antichristian. Skepticism and superstition must reign everywhere, or the truth as it is in Jesus must be the religion of the race of man.

We have seen in a former chapter that civil governments rest on religious bases, and that they cannot rise higher nor remain longer than the nature of their foundations allows. We have seen also that the United States are a nation founded by faith and sustained and developed through the instrumentality of a series of national revivals of the faith of the founders, extending over a period of more than one hundred years. While thus blessed by these great revivals, the nation has come to its present position of prosperity and power. Advancing with it, and by the inspiration of the same faith and like revivals, the British nation has also risen to international leadership.

Can this nation, thus born and nourished by faith, renounce now the source of its greatness without losing its freedom and rushing to ruin? Can it fall without pulling down the governments of the English-speaking world and discouraging the hope of constitutional liberty in all lands? Can it and its kindred Anglo-Saxon peoples perish without extinguishing the light by which all the nations are being led into the perfect day, and ushering in the darkest age our benighted planet has ever known?

In his "Narrative" of the great awakening Jonathan Edwards devoted one entire section to the consideration of "the reasons for believing that the great work of God for the world's conversion may begin in America." Like the Hebrew prophets were wont to do, he found in the spiritual force that was upon him and within him the promise of world-wide glory. In the same buoyant hopefulness spoke Vincent Perronet, the devout Vicar of Shoreham, when at a little later time he said of the contemporaneous Wesleyan revival in England: "I make no doubt that Methodism, notwithstanding all the wiles of Satan, is designed by Divine Providence to introduce the approaching millennium."

If the vision of Edwards is extended to include the English-speaking world, and that of Perronet is widened to include all of the evangelical or revivalistic Churches, the circles of their faith and hope will be found exactly coincident, and the circumference of their common expectation will not include anything unreasonable.

Perhaps, after all, neither was very wide of the mark. The hope of mankind is in the keeping of the Anglo-Saxon nations, led by the United States; and evangelical Christianity, with Methodism in the forefront, is the hope of these nations. If these nations should perish, and the evangelistic type of religion which they hold should fail, the chill which would fall on the race of man would be mortal. And they cannot reasonably hope to endure merely because they are at present powerful. Before them have been powerful nations which have utterly passed away, and they too may be overthrown by the same destructive influences which have overcome others.

The perils of nations are not without but within themselves, and they are always moral perils. No nation was ever destroyed by the murderous attacks of its enemies; all that have

gone down fell as suicides die—by their own hands.

There is no real danger threatening the Anglo-Saxon nations to-day that is not a moral danger and a domestic danger. There is not a peril besetting them against which evangelical Christianity does not offer a perfect defense; and this is especially true of the Great Republic.

Is the republic threatened by selfish wealth and angry want, living near as neighbors while fierce as foes? Did not the Wesleyan revival meet and master similar conditions in England? What said the Hon. Carroll D. Wright very recently upon this subject? In a signed article on John Wesley, contributed to the *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, of Chicago, he said: "A body without spirit is dead matter, and this is quite true when we consider mechanical powers. There must be intellectual forces involved; and, further, there must be the comprehension of the spiritual forces of industry in order to bring them to their fruitage. It is in this that the influence of John Wesley in social and industrial matters, as well as in the religious life of the world, has been felt; and herein he was a power greater than industry, greater than the

new mechanical contrivances, greater than the industrial pride and ambition of England." In the same issue of the paper mentioned Mr. Threlfell, Secretary of the Labor Association of England, testifies to the persistence of the saving and soothing influence of the Wesleyan revival to this day among the miners of Great Britain. He says: "Methodism has undoubtedly played a very important part in organizing miners. No one can read the detailed history of the great strikes in the mining world without observing how many of the leaders are connected with some branch of the Methodist Church. . . . Methodism has become the dominant faith of the miners. Such affinity of the vanguard of labor for this particular Church is not only eloquent for the past, but is significant for the future. It is not based on local peculiarities, upon conditions of employment, upon tradition or material surroundings, but springs from the fact that Methodism has most nearly approached the miner's conception of a democratic Church. Its spiritual zeal aroused him. Its democratic instincts were in keeping with his political aspirations, and its organizing ability educated him in the principles of unity. . . . Can there be any more striking tribute

to the influence of Methodism upon the mining community than the fact that five mining members in the present House of Commons have all been trained in the Methodist Church, four being local preachers? In the Parliament of 1858 there were six."

Principal A. M. Fairbairn, in his carefully considered volume entitled "Religion in History and Modern Life," bears similar testimony in these words: "Methodism, in its several branches, has done more for the conversion and reconciliation of certain of the industrial classes to religion than any other English Church. It is but just to say that the enfranchisement of our mining and agricultural populations made this evident—that their regulative ideas were religious rather than utilitarian and secular. The politician finds, when he addresses the peasantry, that he has to appeal to more distinctly ethical and religious principles than when he addresses the upper or middle classes. And we may hope that even in a politician the principles he appeals to may ultimately affect his policy. Meanwhile, we simply note that it is the local preacher rather than the secularist lecturer who has, while converting the soul, really formed the mind of the miner and the laborer, and who

now so largely represents the ideas he seeks, in his dim and inarticulate way, to see applied to national policy and legislation."

If this combined testimony of a student of industrial statistics and conditions, a labor leader and secretary of a labor organization, and a religious philosopher, be not sufficient, let us recur to the words of the skeptical historian, Lecky, who said that he conceived that it was peculiarly fortunate for England that the rise of industrialism "should have been preceded by a religious revival which opened a new spring of moral and religious energy among the poor, and at the same time gave a powerful impulse to the philanthropy of the rich."

The results thus attributed to the Wesleyan revival in England in the eighteenth century we have seen following also the revival in the days of the Moody and Sankey meetings in America in the nineteenth century. Neither time nor place forestalls the operation of the fundamental principles of evangelical Christianity. When they prevail they subdue the selfishness of wealth and the sensitiveness of poverty, casting down the animosities of class against class, and establishing the noblest brotherhood of souls.

It is to be feared that neither capital nor labor realizes its indebtedness to revivals in the past, or comprehends how it must rely on evangelical religion in the future. Nothing else can save either. With both parties armed with implements of industrial warfare, practically irresistible, they will destroy each other, unless selfishness is exorcised from the hearts of both; and this kind goeth not out but by the mighty prayers and fastings of evangelical religion. The dainty and impotent forms of ritualism or the timid and equivocal utterances of rationalism are worse than useless in composing the difficulties of these angered and able combatants. They will dwell together as brothers as soon as they really are brothers, and that will be when they are born again. Great revivals, which shall cause men to realize in the agonies of penitence and the raptures of regenerating grace the love of their Heavenly Father, will draw them into the most affectionate relations of brotherhood. This is the cure for congested wealth and consuming poverty. This will extinguish the fires of socialism, as travelers escape the perils of prairie fires by burning the grass around their feet and standing on the burned spot. This will establish a Christian

communism, which does not say, "We shall have all things equal by my taking from thee what is thine;" but which generously declares, "We shall have all things equal by my giving to thee what is mine." Against such socialism there is no law, for love is the fulfilling of all law.

But what, says some one, of the peril of immigration that threatens the Great Republic? Well, the nation has been solving that problem by revivals ever since the founding of the first colonies. That solution of the problem has become the established method in America, and there seems to be nothing better in sight. It was entirely adequate in colonial times, and it was found sufficient in the time of the great revival of 1800. Mr. Moody found the same prescription efficacious in the slums of Chicago, and it worked well in the hands of Jerry McAuley on the Bowery and in the Water Street Mission. Of course such a solution means nothing to men who have no more than an academic interest in the great problem presented by the foreign settlements in the cities and the isolated settler in the far West. Ritualism and rationalism can do nothing for the foreigner in the city; all that sort of influence has been tried on

him in the Old World to no purpose. And of course the lonely frontiersman has no time for such child's play. But the gospel of a dying Saviour's love, spoken to either the foreigner in the city or to the dweller of the plains, by lips that quiver with the warm emotions of a brotherly heart, will be heard and heeded. This expedient was effective wherever applied to the festering sores of the city life in the Roman Empire and to the emigrant bands of the restless first century of the Christian era, and it will be potent for good in the remotest corners of the great West and the darkest alleys of our overcrowded cities in all the years to come. A great revival saved the West in 1800: can a better prescription be applied to it now? A great revival rescued the cities in 1858: can they be otherwise redeemed now?

But is there not a great menace in Romanism? Undoubtedly; but Romanism could not defeat evangelical Christianity in the days of Martin Luther in Germany and of Ridley and Latimer in England, when the sword and the fagot were in its hands, and when it wielded the civil power for the extermination of the faithful. It surely cannot withstand evangelical religion in this day and in this free land. It has no songs like

those of Watts and Wesley and Sankey, with which to cheer its benighted hosts. The spirit of the age is against its incredible dogmas. Let the Romanists come on to America; their coming will save the trouble and expense of sending the gospel to the lands where they live in poverty, ignorance, and national decadence. We can handle the hosts of Romanism better here than in papal lands. Evangelical Christianity has reached and saved millions of them already. The total Romish population in the United States does not equal the Roman Catholic immigrants who have come to our shores. It has been truly said that "this country is the biggest grave for popery ever dug on the earth." And the evangelical Churches are preaching the gospel of a spiritual Christianity in Roman Catholic countries. There are more Methodists in the city of Rome to-day, not to mention other evangelical Christians there, than there were Christians in imperial Rome when Paul declared in his letter to the Romans that he was not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, for it was the power of God unto salvation. The same power still resides in the gospel, and it will be found thus potential to redeem by all those evangelical Churches who show themselves as ready as was

the great apostle to preach the gospel "to them who are in Rome also." It goes without the saying that an apish Romanizing Church can do nothing to withstand the peril of Romanism. As little can a disputatious ministry that can find nothing better than a controversy with which to reach a follower of the pope.

Intemperance, Mormonism, socialism, spiritualism, "Christian Science," and every other high, or low, thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God may be easily overthrown by the uncarnal but powerful weapons which the Captain of our salvation has put at the disposal of fervent faith and loving zeal. But these strongholds will not yield to the assaults of a paralytic preaching of theological uncertainty, nor to the empty parade of a religious tableau. The walls of Jericho fell not at the mellifluous notes of delicate minstrelsy, nor at the bidding of a hesitant faith, but by the rude, loud blast of the ram's horn, sounded by men who trusted in the living God.

There is not a peril menacing the Great Republic to-day that, in some form or other, has not been met and overcome by revivals—great, general revivals—during the past. These perils gather strength and reappear from time to time.

So must the revivals of religion. The revivalistic spirit and methods of the fathers of the republic will prevail in our generation if their children and children's children walk and work in the same way of faith.

But this evangelical Christianity is not only the security of the republic; it is also the hope of the world. That this claim may not appear extravagant, let us consider several facts that are known and read of all men.

The Anglo-Saxon nations—by which term is meant not only the people directly descended from the Angles and the Saxons, but those also who, by collateral descent or by political association with them, have been conformed to their type and identified with their destiny—occupy the position of supremacy in the family of nations to-day, and their rise to this elevation has been coetaneous with the period of the great revivals among them, which have passed in review before us. In the year 1700, scarcely more than thirty years before the beginning of the great awakening in America and the rise of the Wesleyan revival in England, this race numbered less than 6,000,000 souls. By the year 1800, when another great revival began and a century of revivals opened, they had increased to 20,-

500,000. They now number more than 130,000,000; control above one-fourth of the land surface of the earth; exercise authority over one-third of the world's population; own half of the wealth of the globe, including the richest mines of gold, iron, and coal; occupy all the strategic points on the planet; command the highways on the sea and the railways on the land; dominate the commerce of mankind, and transmit its news. Their colonies are in every continent and on the isles of the sea, and from every colony their language, laws, and religion are spread in all directions. It is, therefore, no exaggeration to say that as these nations go so will go the world. In view of the commanding position of the United States in this family of Anglo-Saxon peoples, some have ventured to affirm that as goes the United States so will go the world. But whether that thesis is or is not tenable, there can be no reasonable doubt that into the hands of the English-speaking nations has been given the future of mankind for centuries to come.

If civil liberty and a spiritual Christianity are to become the possession of all the children of men, they must be communicated by the Anglo-Saxon peoples. Nowhere else is either the dis-

position or the resources required for so great an achievement. Nor can any one of them do the mighty work alone. They must stand together and labor together if they accomplish the ends of this high mission which is so manifestly set before them.

Let us now recall what we have discovered concerning their religious history during the centuries in which they have been steadily advancing to their present eminence. We have seen great revivals among them, elevating their lives and purifying their laws, opening vast tracts for their habitation and rescuing the early settlers in those regions from the dangers and deterioration of frontier life, quickening industry and cleansing it from the forces of self-destruction, overthrowing doubt and restoring faith, healing national alienations and removing international antipathies—in short, helping to avert every peril that has beset them, and assisting to enhance every victory that has come to them.

Can we, then, reasonably suppose that there is any hope for these nations, or for the world dependent upon them, outside of the evangelical religion which has been their inspiration and constant attendant in all the way over which they

have come? This faith has brought them safe thus far; can they go forward if they abandon it?

It is as certain as any generalization in the philosophy of history can be that these nations are not going to renounce Christianity, nor exchange the type of Christianity under which they have grown to greatness for any other. The doctrines and life of evangelical Christianity will hold the field against all comers, whether they be the forces of doubt denying all faith, or the companies of rationalism or ritualism with their pinched and paralytic faiths. A robust evangelism, having, like the angel of the Apocalypse, the everlasting gospel to preach, and singing as a seraph as it flies, is the form of religion to which these nations will cling, and the religion which they will impart to mankind if they succeed in evangelizing the globe.

Moreover, this is the only type of religion which they could carry throughout the earth, even if they were of a mind to try some other sort. Evangelical Christianity only has in it the elements of universality and permanence. Doubt is transient, ritualism is local. All forms of rationalism are the fleeting fashions with which men of an indolent and curious culture interest themselves for an hour, and ecclesias-

tical forms at best are merely national. Sacramentarianism is superstitious and cannot endure the light of a scientific age. But evangelical Christianity, incarnated in the experiences of glowing souls, is at home in all lands, potent in all times, and unembarrassed in any presence. It is as broad as human need, and as penetrating as the Divine Spirit. It is unshaken by the assaults of infidelity and unhindered by the advance of knowledge. Its doctrines of sin, repentance, justification by faith, the new birth, the witness of the Spirit, Christian perfection, and the life eternal after death are certified by the deepest wants, the highest aspirations, and the profoundest convictions of the race. No discoveries of science can make them appear either more or less true, and the attenuated theories of a painful and changeful criticism of the Holy Scriptures are but side issues of minor importance when brought into comparison with them. If all the conclusions of science, upon which some rely to overthrow Christianity, were demonstrably true, and all the hypotheses of a microscopic criticism, upon which others depend to overturn orthodoxy, were absolutely established upon immovable bases of fact, these great principles of evangelical Chris-

tianity would remain entirely undisturbed. They speak with authority to all classes, from the highest to the lowest, and subdue the men of all races with an unearthly imperialism. In the hands and heart of an evangelist like Wesley they scatter the writings of Voltaire like chaff before the blast of a tornado. Uttered even by a plain lay preacher like Mr. Moody, they so enthrall the hearts of the multitudes that "Mr. Tyndall and Mr. Herbert Spencer and Mr. Huxley are not much in their minds while the evangelist is around."

These doctrines, when preached with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven, produce great revivals, which are themselves the insoluble problem of the faithless and the despair of the armies of doubt. Mr. Lecky is constrained to give a large space in his skeptically conceived histories to the Wesleyan revival, and is forced to acknowledge its benign influence. Mr. Herbert Spencer feels impelled to preside over one of Mr. Moody's meetings to raise funds for the Young Men's Christian Association, and contributes largely to the collection. Now these revivals of Wesley and Moody and the rest are great and far-reaching facts, and as such they demand adequate explanation. The voice of mod-

ern science seconds the imperative demand that they be accounted for by a reasonable hypothesis. Was there in Mr. Moody's natural powers or Mr. Wesley's "environment" anything adequate to account for the prodigious effects which they accomplished? Pending Moody's meetings in New York, Dr. J. G. Holland, in an editorial in *Scribner's Magazine*, put this phase of the case well: "The great men of science now engaged in uprooting the popular faith in Christianity have a new problem in science. Was there enough in Mr. Moody's eloquence, or personal influence, to account for the effect produced? Would it not be very unscientific to regard these little means sufficient to account for these great results? It is a fair question, and it deserves a candid answer. Until we get this answer, people who have nothing but common sense to guide them must repose upon the conviction that the power which Mr. Moody seemed to wield was in the truth he promulgated, or that it emanated from a source which he recognized as the Spirit of God."

The nations which have come to power along with this evangelical Christianity are also a problem for objectors to solve. Confessedly they are the most enlightened and peaceful and

prosperous nations on the globe. Why? Wendell Phillips said: "The answer to the Shastas is India; the answer to Confucianism is China; the answer to the Koran is Turkey; the answer to the Bible is the Christian civilization of Protestant Europe and America." But more particularly let us inquire: To what are the puissant nations of the Anglo-Saxons the answer, if not to evangelical Christianity, with its doctrines of experience, gospel hymns, and revivals of religion? Let the doubters answer this question before they have talked any more about the anthropoid ape and the composition of the "polychrome" Pentateuch. We are a trifle surfeited with that sort of academic cant, and wish a change for a rest, anyhow. We wish something more serious and practical. We want to know who shall save the world if these nations do not save it, and what can save these and all other nations if evangelical Christianity cannot?

Still further, the evangelization of the world is a costly enterprise, and it will require nothing less than the powerful influences of an evangelical Christianity to command even the material resources demanded for such a task. Outside the nations in which this type of Christianity is dominant there is neither the money nor the en-

thusiasm necessary for so vast an undertaking. Pagan faiths are too poor to pay their traveling expenses, and Christianity of the rationalistic or ritualistic type is too indolent and indifferent to go into all the world and preach the gospel of salvation. This was put beyond all question by the reports and representatives of the Ecumenical Conference of Missions in New York in 1900. We have seen how missionary boards sprang up in England and America in the wake of great revivals, and the facts gathered by the Conference in New York demonstrated how those enterprises have been sustained, from the beginning until now, from the same sources of faith and zeal. No religion but that of the evangelical Churches commands the means or cares for the work of world-encompassing schemes of redemption.

Again, no one Church is equal to the task of evangelizing the world; and if the various Churches working in foreign fields do not coöperate with each other, but fall to fighting among themselves in the presence of the heathen, all of them together will do something worse than fail. On the mission field only bodies pervaded by a catholic spirit are of any avail. But the doctrinal basis of evangelical Christianity is the only

platform wide enough for all parties to stand harmoniously upon. Strifes about forms of ordinances, doctrines of historic episcopates and apostolic successions, and dogmas concerning forms of governments and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, appear ridiculous to intelligent pagans, and it is worthy of remark that such worthless things disappear from the home land, even, whenever a great revival sweeps over the country. These minor matters cannot be of the essence of Christianity, and no amount of verbal jugglery or astute argumentation can make them appear as of prime importance to any healthy mind which is free from partisan bias, or to any devout soul filled with the joy of the Spirit.

Moreover, it will take a glad, singing Christianity to persevere in the evangelization of the world until the work is done. Any and all other sorts will weary of the task and faint by the way. Only the evangelical Churches have songs and joy enough to keep going till

> Every kindred, every tribe,
> On this terrestrial ball,
> All majesty to Christ ascribe,
> And crown him Lord of all.

And this mighty enterprise cannot be carried to such a culmination without the help of the

lay element in the Churches. There are not enough men in orders to do all the work if it were wise to propagate Christianity by clerical hands alone. The lay element must have a part in the last century of Christian conquest, as it did in the first century. Dwight L. Moody and John R. Mott are signs that point in the right direction in this high matter. There are schools to be conducted, prayer meetings to be held, and other work to be done on foreign fields, which will require the fervent service of thousands and tens of thousands of laymen. It is not money alone that the laymen of the Churches must supply. Their heads and hands and hearts are needed to penetrate and purify the dark places in the crowded cities of our own and heathen lands. And the multitude of laymen demanded for this great service cannot be found in sufficient numbers, or with the requisite training, outside the Churches which have had their growth by revivals of religion. In the other Churches the layman bears a very inferior part. In truth, laymen are not suited to the work of operating an elaborate ritualism or enforcing a complicated system of speculative dogmas. Doctrines which can be known experientially, and which can be preached most effectively out of a living experi-

ence, are the weapons best adapted to the use of this great infantry division of the Church of God. Laymen can handle effectively the implements of warfare belonging to evangelical Christianity; in the use of any other sort they are awkward and incompetent.

For all these, and for other reasons that will suggest themselves to a devout and thoughtful mind, it is clear that evangelical Christianity is "the security of the Great Republic and the hope of the world." If the movement of Providence over the Anglo-Saxon nations is not to terminate in a blind alley and end in a frustrated plan, they must advance in the power of the same divine grace which hath led them safe thus far. They must continue to be lifted and strengthened by greater and greater awakenings, inspired and invigorated by greater and greater revivals of religion, till their mission is fulfilled. Some would have it believed that the days of revivals have passed forever. If this be true, the end of these revivalistic nations is drawing near. If the springs of their greatness have run dry, their leaves must soon wither and their fruit fail. Revivals will cease when these nations fail, or when their work is done and the crowns of their eternal reward have been won. The day of re-

vivals will have passed when the sun of these evangelical people has set to rise no more, or when the day has dawned upon the final government of the world—the New Jerusalem—not built upon the suffrages of men, but established by the power of God. Revivals will not cease until sin has become invincible or salvation universal.

X.

THE NEXT GREAT AWAKENING.

Talk about the questions of the day; there is but one question, and that is the gospel. It can and will correct everything needing correction.—*William E. Gladstone.*

The greatness of the Founder of Christianity is conspicuously shown in his passing by social institutions as of minor and inconsiderable importance, and fastening his claims upon the individual. The reform of personal character was His one aim; with Him the man was great and the institution small. There was but one way with Him for making a good society, and that was by the purification of its individual materials. . . . No good society can possibly be made out of bad materials; and when the materials are made good, society takes a good form naturally, as a pure salt makes its perfect crystal without superintendence.—*Dr. J. G. Holland, in "Everyday Topics."*

If the hand of God should be acknowledged in that work which Whitefield and Wesley effected, can we think that that hand has been withdrawn from the sphere of human affairs? or those high purposes which then were moved forward rescinded or broken? Shall the Reformation of the sixteenth century, and the Methodism of the eighteenth, and the missionary impulses which followed hard upon it—shall these movements continue onward toward an issue proportionate, or shall they stop short and be looked back upon, ages hence, as a dawn that was followed by no day?—*Isaac Taylor.*

X.

THE NEXT GREAT AWAKENING.

Unless we deny that the hand of God was in the revivals which have blessed the Anglo-Saxon nations so powerfully and so frequently, or affirm that the divine hand has been withdrawn from the sphere of their affairs, we must believe there are yet other great awakenings to come. We can no more believe that the day of revivals has passed than we can accept the absurd notion that the purposes of God concerning these nations have been moving on mistaken lines, and that those purposes are now to be stopped short and turned back in order that a more enlightened policy may take their place. God does not thus abandon the work of his hands, nor amend his own motions. Men of philosophic mind, therefore, look for the continuance of these heavenly visitations, and many devout souls are yearning for the next great awakening. Holy men pray for it and inquire what are the signs of its coming. Many feel that it is not far off, and eagerly advance to meet it.

What will it be? And how will it come to pass?

It will be just what all the great revivals that have preceded it have been—a revival of religion, and not merely a religious revival. There is a wide difference between the two things; a revival of religion brings dead things to life again, while a religious revival decorates a corpse and gilds a sepulcher. The former conquers death, and the latter disguises the despair of the grave with the pageantry of an imposing funeral. John Henry Newman and his friends brought to pass a religious revival, and in its dim, religious light watched sorrowfully by the death couch of expiring faith, chanting mournfully, "Lead, kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom." John Wesley and his comrades under God produced a revival of religion that brought again life and immortality to light in the gospel, and in the buoyant hope of the new life within them went on their glorious course singing,

> Faith lends its realizing light;
> The clouds disperse, the shadows fly,
> The Invisible appears in sight,
> And God is seen by mortal eye.

The "*Apologia pro Sua Vita*" of Newman is a volume devoted to a defense of the Jesuitic-

al proceedings of one who betrayed one Church while leaving it for another; the vindication of Wesley is an innumerable company of newborn souls. The influence of the Tractarian movement, as W. T. Stead truly says, was no more than "a certain stimulus to the sensuous exercise of divine worship;" to which may be added, perhaps, a limited recrudescence of Romanism in England. The effect of the Wesleyan revival of religion was a regenerated nation and the inauguration of saving efforts and enterprises which have reached to the uttermost parts of the earth.

The next great awakening will be a revival of religion—not a political reform nor a philanthropic scheme of social amelioration. It will affect politics just as the preaching of apostolic times finally revolutionized the Roman Empire, and just as the Wesleyan revival made possible the ministry of the elder Pitt and made another Walpole forever impossible in England. But it will serve the governments of earth by establishing in the hearts of men the kingdom of heaven. It will not come through the ministry of men who periodically advertise themselves by pulpit assaults on municipal authorities, and yet, like the revival of 1858, it will do much to cleanse

our cities of corruption. It will do more than all reform schemes whatsoever.

It will feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and seek the outcast and forlorn, who have no helper. But it will do so, not by the cold calculations of men who have the processes of mental arithmetic and the current prices of the oil market at their fingers' end, but by the impulsive and uncalculating offerings of souls that love much because they have been forgiven much. It will make much of the physical needs of the destitute because it will make more of their spiritual wants. It will treat the impoverished and ignorant, not as animals requiring only food and drink, but as human beings whose first and highest necessity is salvation. It will convert rich men, and from turning to the Father in heaven they will be turned to their needy brothers on earth. From conversions like that on the Damascus road multitudes will rise to acknowledge a boundless obligation to God that cannot be met without assuming a limitless debt of service to men. From such scenes of salvation a daring philanthropy will rise, exclaiming: "I am debtor both to the Greeks, and to the Barbarians; both to the wise, and to the unwise." So have the great revivals of Wes-

ley, Edwards, Finney, and Moody inspired philanthropy.

But the next great awakening will not undertake to save a lost world by trying to induce it to throw around itself an environment of earth-born altruism as a cloak to warm itself back to life again. It will bring men to a new life by showing them the Father, with all his pardoning love, and that will reveal to them their brothers and sisters, and open the fountains of their brotherly compassion. The converts of the next great awakening will not be good Abou Ben Adhems, molded in the forms of Leigh Hunt's devising, but souls renewed in the image of God, like the generous Joses of the Acts, who, when he was born again, under the impulses of his new and unearthly life, "having land sold it and brought the money and laid it at the apostles' feet," for the uses of the needy members of the infant Church. This effect of a pure Christianity at its birth, in the first century, has been repeated at every subsequent revival. Philanthropy is not a new thing in the history of our holy religion. It springs spontaneously from the depths of faith and flows with a diminished or increased flow according to the fullness and force of the faith in which

it takes its rise. The next great awakening will promote benevolence just because it will be a revival of religion.

And the great revival will be doctrinal in character, as all great awakenings have been and must be. The Holy Spirit has no instrument with which to regenerate human souls but inspired truth, and hence genuine revivals of religion are characterized by the potent presentation of the saving truths of the gospel. Limp and hesitating preaching, which proceeds on the assumption that anything may be true (which is to say that everything may be false), never results in a revival. A languid liberalism bears no fruit. It is tolerant because it is tepid, and lifeless because it is loveless. Its first care is not the honor of God and the salvation of men, but the vain maintenance at any cost of its own reputation for broadness of view—even though it be as barren as it is broad. Men like Paul, who change the face of nations and turn the currents of history into better channels, believe that the gospel of Christ has a fixed and inviolable character, and they do not hesitate to anathematize angels or men who preach another gospel than that which has been revealed by God. Such were Luther, Knox, Ridley, Ed-

wards, and Wesley. Such will be the leaders of the next great awakening, and of all similar movements to the end of time. They will be mighty in doctrine, discarding all incoherent appeals to a shallow emotionalism, whether they be appeals to the sentimentality of a declamatory liberalism or appeals to the easy-acting sensibilities of a degenerate evangelism. They will not burn strange fire upon God's altar nor mimic the Holy Ghost in order to produce an excitement which has no relation to intelligent conviction nor power in conforming the human will to the divine law.

By all this, however, it must not be understood that the next great revival will be a frigid, unfeeling performance of what some call "cold conviction." The race of man will never outgrow its emotional nature unless it shall become abnormal and be psychologically deformed. And as long as there are sensibilities in human bosoms the great transactions of the soul in coming to God and walking with him will betimes stir the heart to its deepest depths. Nor will any degree of worthy culture intercept or outgrow the action of the religious emotions. All the great leaders of the general revivals of the past were men of the most affluent culture;

but, one and all, they were men of emotion. Paul was a man of many tears. So also were Luther and the mighty men of the Reformation. The Wesleys and Whitefield were men of the profoundest sensibility. When the scholarly Charles Wesley sought to express his joyous experience of the new birth he sang:

"I rode on the sky,
Freely justified I,
Nor did envy Elijah his seat;
My soul mounted higher
In a chariot of fire,
And the moon it was under my feet."

Even the philosophic Edwards and his calm, saintly wife often experienced and manifested the most fervent states of religious feeling. Whitefield records in his journal that when he preached at Northampton "the good Mr. Edwards wept all the time I was preaching." It was not depth of culture, but shallowness of piety, which provoked the rebuke of the Laodicean Church: "I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot: I would thou wert cold or hot. So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spew thee out of my mouth." A lukewarm Church is the disgust of God.

But while the next great awakening will be doctrinal and emotional, it will bring forward no new dogmas. It can scarcely be expected to recover even a neglected doctrine, or an overlooked phase of any doctrine that may not have been wholly neglected before. Whitefield, Edwards, and the Tennents had to recover the lost truth of the spirituality of the kingdom of God, which had been overlaid by an all-prevalent Erastianism, from which even the "Venerable Stoddard" did not utterly escape. Wesley had to bring to light the universality of the atonement, the witness of the Spirit, and the doctrine of human perfectibility under grace—truths with the preaching of which his own devout mother and his beloved Whitefield did not sympathize at first, and for the proclamation of which even the fervent Toplady lampooned him. In the next generation after Wesley, when some among the evangelicals had shown a tendency to squint the doctrine of human freedom, it was necessary for Finney to come emphasizing, almost to an extreme, the truth that was being let slip, and so he says of the message he brought: "Instead of telling sinners to use the means of grace and pray for a new heart, we called on them to make themselves a new heart and a new

spirit, and pressed the duty of instant surrender to God." But it is very instructive to note that in the subsequent revival of 1858, and in the still later revival of the time of Moody and Sankey, not one of the leaders in those mighty movements pretended to offer a new or a recovered doctrine. There were no such doctrines left to discover or restore to their due position. When men know the doctrines of justification by faith, the new birth, the witness of the Spirit, and Christian perfection, what other light this side of heaven do they want? All those truths are final truths. They only need to be really believed and fervently preached to renew the world in righteousness and true holiness, and in the next great awakening they will be believed with an intenseness and preached with a power never before known since apostolic times.

Current hypotheses of science and prevalent theories in philosophy, which have been pushed illegitimately into the sphere of theology, and which are irreconcilable with these fundamental truths, will perish in the flame of the next great awakening, as English deism and French infidelity were swept away by the Wesleyan revival. Modern materialism has generated during the last decade a fatalistic influence, which

must be overcome by the reassertion of the scriptural doctrine of man's freedom and responsibility. The outworn terms of a fatalistic theology have been substituted by the scientific terminology of "heredity," "environment," and such like—terms from which fatalism exudes like the inky fluid from the tail of the cuttlefish. Of course such a philosophy cannot produce a moral sentiment that rises higher than self-pity. If it were universally accepted, repentance would become a folly and regeneration a dream. Under such a system misconduct is only misfortune; and the soul, if it allows that there is such a thing as an immortal soul, is justified in approaching the throne of grace, entering fearlessly an exoneretur to the indictments of conscience, and withdrawing from the presence of enthroned Power and giving itself, as best it may, to a complacent despair. If such a philosophy be allowed, the pursuit of truth ceases to be of any interest or importance, for why should one seek light that cannot be followed except along the predetermined lines of heredity and environment? It is not even of consequence to discover that one is thus unchangeably conditioned, since no good can come of the discovery. If each life is only the prod-

uct of the sum of environment and heredity multiplied by the number of years and links that intervene between it and the primitive monera, what is the use of worrying to make even the calculation, since all "will get to the bottom all safe and sound," in any event? But there is the rub; men do not wish to get to the bottom. They wish to rise, and it is high time that this doctrine of despair were rebuked in the name of the Prince of Life, who makes men free indeed. It is time to preach with new emphasis that no man is lost because he cannot do right and come to God, but because he will not do what he can and will not come to Christ that he may have life. The doctrines of modern materialism must be overcome, or there is an end of all preaching and all repenting and all turning away from sin. They are hostile to all moral instruction, discouraging to hope, and paralyzing to zeal. They stretch above the bowed head of prayer a firmament of brass, and bind the compassion of God with strong cables made of twists of his own laws. The spell of this delusion has lasted long enough, and the hour has come to arouse the people with the cry, "Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light."

One of the raptures of the next great awakening will be the fact that many will find, to their unspeakable joy, that they are not made to be slaves of physical law, but free sons of the living God. The age waits for a new and more powerful manifestation than has ever been before seen of "the glorious liberty of the children of God." The world needs to learn again that it is not generation, but regeneration, that determines life and destiny; that it is not an earthly heredity that we need so much to fear as it is a divine Fatherhood that we need to lay hold of through the atoning mediation of the only-begotten Son. This high truth will be proclaimed anew in the next great awakening.

May we expect, then, great leaders such as appeared in former awakenings? Yes, mightier men than have ever appeared will come, and they will come in clusters or galaxies. Great men have been growing a little scarce in recent times, perhaps, and it is no great wonder that such has been the case. Thomas Carlyle says: "This is an age which, as it were, denies the existence of great men; denies the desirableness of great men. Show our critics a great man—a Luther, for example—they begin to what they call 'account for him;' not to worship him, but to take

the dimensions of him, and bring him out a very little kind of a man. 'He was the creature of the times,' they say; the times called him forth; the times did everything: he did nothing but what we, the little critic, could have done too! This seems to me but melancholy work. The times call forth! Alas! we have known times to call loudly enough for their great man, but they did not find him when they called. He was not there. Providence had not sent him. The times called their loudest and had to go down to confusion and wreck because he would not come when called. I liken common, languid times with their unbelief, distress, perplexity; their languid, doubting character, impotently crumbling through ever worse distress into final ruin —all this I liken to dry, dead fuel, waiting for the lightning of heaven which shall quicken it. The great man, with his free, direct force out of God's own hand, is the lightning. All blazes now around him. The critic thinks the dry, moldering sticks called him forth. They wanted him greatly, no doubt; but as to calling him forth! They are critics of small vision who think that the dead sticks have created the fire. To lose faith in God's divine lightning, and to retain faith only in dead

sticks—this seems to me the last consummation of unbelief."

The next great awakening will burn away this doctrine of dead sticks, against which the sage of Craigenputtock fulminates so justly. It will bring forth men, not out of the spirit of the times, but out of the birthplace of the eternities. The signs infallible will be upon them in all the tokens of congruity between the operations of grace within them and the movements of Providence around them; for all men, knowing that there is only one God, will perceive that the power that works above them and about them is none other than He who worketh in them, mighty to save.

These mighty men of God will do something more than stir a local interest or excite a transient enthusiasm. Aided by all the modern devices of transportation and communication, they will be able to extend their influence as the revivalists of former times could not project their ministries. Through their efforts wonders of grace will be wrought in heathen lands. In America we may reasonably expect a great revival, the center of which will be in the West, and the power of which will be felt all along the Pacific Coast as the revival of 1800 filled with new life the Mississippi basin.

The time is approaching for a general movement throughout the English-speaking world. Great revivals have preceded all the revolutionary periods in the history of these Anglo-Saxon nations. The God of providence, who is also the God of grace, has moved upon them in simultaneous operations within and without. While overruling wars and migrations around them, he has revived faith and quickened zeal within them. There are tokens now of another such combined movement of Providence and the Spirit upon them. He has been extending their borders lately. Their marching orders are already prepared for another great advance. The pillar of cloud shows signs of lifting. The battle hymns will be ringing loud and clear presently. And when the mighty movement advances, it will not be felt in the United Kingdom and the United States alone, but, unlike any great revival which has gone before, it will affect all Anglo-Saxondom. Wherever the English-speaking nations have colonies or their Churches have missions, the power of this great awakening will extend. Mammonism at home and paganism abroad will be subdued by it, "trade expanding into commerce, and commerce rising into communion,"

and communion inspiring that consecration which shall make sure the Christian conquest of the world. Changing the figure, it will be, not lakelike in its limits, but oceanic in breadth and depth and fullness, and its currents will be as the tides of the irresistible sea.

And will the next great revival bring new songs with it? Certainly. There are no new hymns without revivals, and, equally, there are no great revivals which do not inspire new hymns. When the next revival comes there will be produced songs as tender as Sankey's softest strains and as lofty as the sublimest notes of Charles Wesley's pæans of triumphant grace. And with each succeeding movement of evangelical Christianity the songs of Zion will grow sweeter and more sublime, until at length the music within the gates of pearl and that without the jasper walls will be so nearly one that the sensitive ear of an archangel will scarcely be able to detect the difference in the notes. "Behold, the tabernacle of God will be with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them and be their God. And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death,

neither sorrow nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain; for the former things are passed away."

And all kingdoms and empires and republics and dominions shall be lost in the kingdom of Him "who is the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords." Then shall all men see how great a part has been borne by great revivals and the Great Republic in establishing the kingdom of heaven on earth.

INDEX.

I certainly think that the best book in the world would owe the most to a good index, and the worst book, if it had but a single good thought in it, might be kept alive by it.—*Horace Binney.*

So essential did I consider an index to every book that I proposed to bring a bill into Parliament to deprive an author who publishes a book without an index of the privilege of copyright, and, moreover, to subject him for his offense to a pecuniary penalty.—*Lord Campbell.*

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